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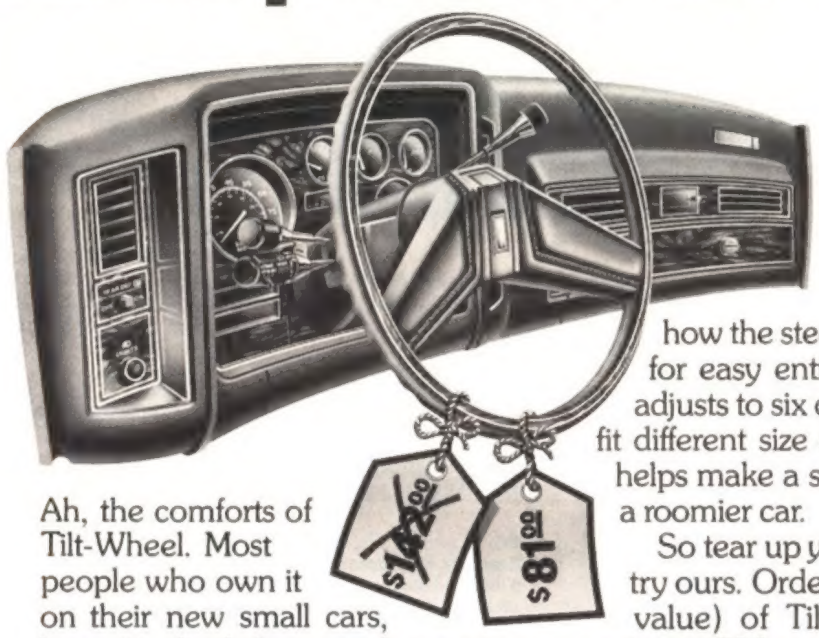

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NOVEMBER 3, 1980 Vol. 116 No. 18 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

In the course of a long presidential election campaign a chosen few journalists enjoy the opportunity of watching candidates go through their dawn-to-dusk schedules from a claustrophobic range. Last week in Waco, Texas, TIME Photographer Arthur Grace was reminded that the candidates get a good chance to watch journalists too. As he posed for the accompanying picture with Jimmy Carter and Correspondent Christopher Ogden, Grace was surprised to hear the President call him his "secret adviser." Added Carter: "Whenever I speak, I look to you to see if you're going to give me the thumbs up or down."

Grace and Ogden chatting with Carter

For Ogden, the remark was further evidence of what he sees as a dramatic difference between Carter the President and Carter the campaigner. Ogden has covered more than 80,000 miles in 27 states with the candidate since January. He observes: "The same fellow who can be very cool and distant in Washington takes on almost a new persona on the campaign trail. He can get very excited." A veteran of the Ford-Dole campaign in 1976, Ogden says that his stint with Carter has been "a great deal more intense. When he does campaign, Carter throws everything into it."

The pace has been as hectic on the Reagan side, where Correspondent Laurence Barrett says he has seen America as he had not for years: "Mostly it looks like the inside of a plane or a Holiday Inn room." Barrett covered 80,000 miles and 23 states before he stopped counting three months ago. He has seen two of his portable computer terminals, for filing stories back to New York, go up in smoke. But Barrett remains stoic. Says he: "Come Nov. 4, I have a fifty-fifty chance of knowing the President-elect better than most people know their next-door neighbors."

Correspondent Eileen Shields has found that a lively sense of humor is essential to survive a presidential campaign. Shields, who has traveled 30,000 miles with Independent Candidate John Anderson since mid-August, describes the atmosphere on Anderson's press plane as "zanier all the time." She reports that her colleagues have taken to hanging a rubber chicken from the ceiling and blowing whistles during take-offs and landings. Still, admits Shields, "the only thing worse than covering a presidential campaign is not covering one."

John a. Meyer

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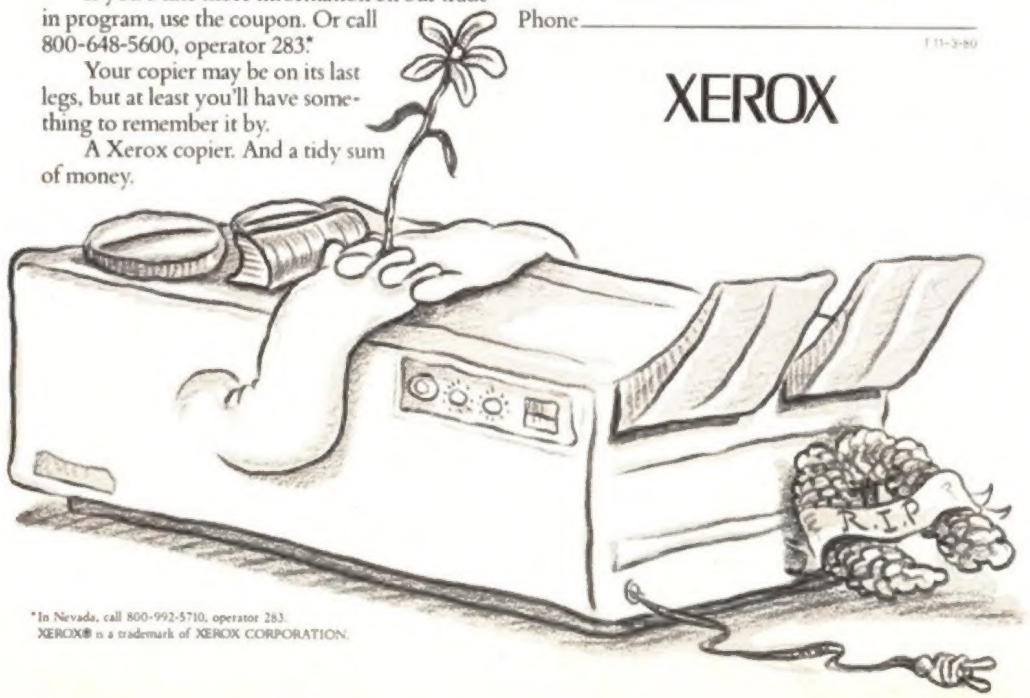

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Letters

Voters' Dilemma

To the Editors:

As the presidential campaign draws to a close [Oct. 13], Jimmy Carter has persuaded me not to vote for Ronald Reagan; Reagan has persuaded me not to vote for Carter; John Anderson has persuaded me not to vote for Anderson. What do I do now?

John J. Burkhart
Grosse Pointe Park, Mich.

In view of the dismal record of the Carter Administration, giving it an encore would be like securing your kite to an anchor—no place to go but down.

Patrick E. Freeman
Great Falls, Mont.

For a long time we have been riding the gravy train of vast, cheap natural resources and cheap energy. "Cheap" has gone, and we now face change in our economic structure, our social fabric and our political structure. I doubt if Ronald Reagan is even aware of this. Jimmy Carter has his faults, but at least he understands that we are in a changing world.

Edmund Lloyd
Middletown, N.Y.

This year my vote goes to Reagan. He seems determined to do something about the economy and give the workingman a chance for a decent life.

Scott Hillesland
Seattle

If voting for Anderson in November is "throwing away" my vote, then that is my decision. I cannot, in good conscience, vote for either Carter or Reagan.

Harriet Peltzman
Eatontown, N.J.

I keep hearing that the American people are throwing away democracy if they refuse to vote.

Would those folks who intend to vote for the lesser of two evils have endorsed Mussolini because they didn't like Hit-

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Letters

ler? I do not feel that anybody has the right to badger people into voting against their own standards.

Anne-Dorothée Mongère
Dallas

If Carter, Reagan and Anderson were in a boat and it began to sink, who would be saved? The country.

Denis Moynihan
Plattsburgh, N.Y.

Politics from the Pulpit

The rise to political significance of a self-styled Moral Majority [Oct. 13], with the unavoidable implication that those who don't share its views are immoral and evil, is to me a frightening development. History shows that nothing else is so provocative of wrath as the threat of having someone else's moral and religious views imposed on you.

Robert G. Vaughn
Randleman, N.C.

Any Christian familiar with biblical morality knows that racial discrimination is as much a sin as abortion or homosexuality. We who take the Bible literally (and I do not apologize for that) know that we will be held accountable if we ignore the needs of the poor, if we fail to take care of the environment that God created, or if we seek personal peace and prosperity at the expense of people in struggling Third World countries.

Ann E. Burkhead
Beaver Falls, Pa.

While I do not concur with all statements coming out of the Moral Majority position, I appreciate that some Christian group is taking a moral stand. The mainline churches have done much to encourage moral disorder by pressing the idea that Christianity is evolutionary and under the control of current-day consensus.

Wesley L. Fankhauser
Seattle

I'll never understand how today's conservative television evangelists manage to keep from blushing as they try to convince their congregations that Christ would want them to vote Republican.

If a holocaust is ever visited upon our blessed land, it won't be brought about by ERA marchers, civil libertarians, environmentalists, welfare programs or liberal courts. It will be at the hands of push-button zealots who can tolerate only one way of living and thinking, and who attack all other perspectives and philosophies of life as sinful and corrupt.

Michael Anglin
Dallas

Faculty Silence

Your article about the University of Georgia's denying tenure to Maija Blaubergs [Oct. 6] was scary. It sounds like

Letters

the beginning of a totalitarian state. Judge Owens is violating the concept of the secret ballot by demanding that faculty members reveal how they voted. Next the Government will want to prohibit secret voting in unions, professional organizations, civic organizations, corporations, and finally in the general elections.

Thomas W. Noonan
Brockport, N.Y.

Any laborer has the right to be given a reason if he is fired. Departments and divisions in colleges and universities are infested with petty politics, envy and self-serving attitudes. If a confident, creative, talented faculty member does not adhere to the proper line, he runs the risk of being driven out. If a person is fired, he deserves the right to know the reasons and who said them.

George C. Thompson
Waldorf, Md.

Your article on the growing row over "peer review" implied that the academic community was overwhelmingly in favor of secret deliberations regarding faculty hirings and promotions. In fact, a good many academics would welcome a more open evaluation process. The prevalence of cronyism and prejudice in faculty advancement has diminished in recent years, but the only way to stamp it out entirely is to make these peer-review deliberations open to those with a legitimate involvement.

Peter Gottlieb
Los Angeles

That's Abominable!

"Reality shows" like *That's Incredible!* [Oct. 13] that encourage dangerous stunts not only insult the intelligence of the American public, but also encourage the notion that an individual must accomplish some spectacular feat to determine his or her worth. This is a most dangerous idea, emotionally and psychologically, as well as physically.

Marianne Canedo
Smithtown, N.Y.

The only incredible thing about *That's Incredible!* is that it is incredibly tasteless.

Mary-Jane Febbroriello
Harwinton, Conn.

For those people who try to get on the show, I suggest the title *That's Incredible Masochism*. For those people who watch the show, I suggest *That's Incredible Sadism* as a suitable title.

Bob Wilson
Jamestown, N.Y.

Three Angry Men

Let's hear it for the three Chicago judges [Oct. 13] who have shown they have the guts to deal with repeat criminal offenders realistically, swiftly and

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sternly. With a few more like them, the law-abiding public may yet have a chance in this contest with crime.

Frank Powell
Florence, Ala.

Catholics Nix Pix

It is sad that the Roman Catholic Church decided not to continue publication of the *Review* of films [Oct. 6]. It is sadder that the film industry has chosen not to take responsibility for producing films of moral quality. Going to the movies should be an entertaining, and only occasionally a learning, experience. But if we are assaulted by the language and actions on the screen, it is no pleasure.

Bob and Ann Kennedy
Tucker, Ga.

Your article misrepresents the motivation of the U.S. Catholic Conference in terminating the *Review*. The U.S.C.C.'s film reviews and ratings are currently carried in 120 newspapers across the U.S. It was the cost of producing a separate, much less widely circulated publication —not any reaction to the changes in public morality or the church as you suggest —that was the rationale for this decision. The Catholic Church will continue to offer parents balanced and morally responsible appraisals of the products of this influential entertainment medium.

Richard H. Hirsch, Secretary of Communication, U.S. Catholic Conference
New York City

Viking Hygiene

Your article on the Viking exhibit at New York City's Metropolitan Museum [Oct. 13] contains a quote from Historian Ibn Fadlan wherein, speaking about the Volga Vikings, he states, "and they do not wash themselves after sex." Yet the Danish Vikings, according to one John of Wallingford, were "hated for their habit of combing their hair every day, taking a bath every Saturday, and changing their woollens at regular intervals." Obviously the Danes brought these habits to England with them. The Volga Vikings may have been a less immaculate bunch, but let's not call all Vikings slobs.

Linda Albelo
New York City

As a child in The Netherlands I was reminded daily by my mother of the Viking "monster" reputation. At bedtime, one of the more chilling prayers was, "From the Norsemen deliver us, Lord!" Apparently the aftermath of a witness's account, it was sustained in my mother's family for a thousand years.

Jan Anthony Verlaan
Pensacola, Fla.

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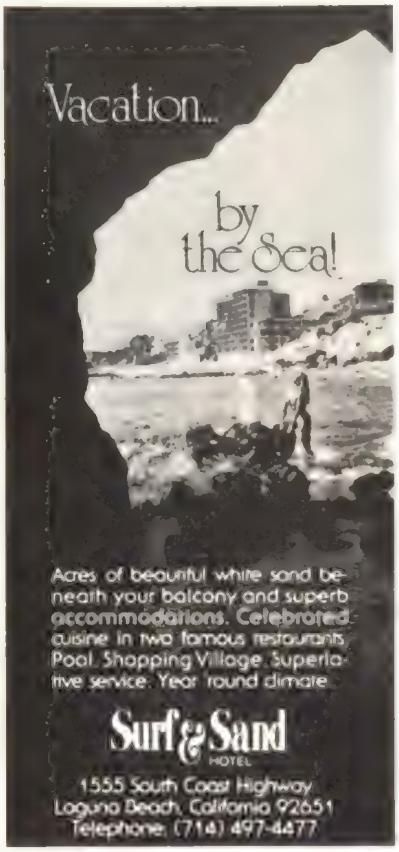

Bill Cosby says: "Help us, help vets."

American Red Cross

American Scene

In New Mexico: Voices from Trinity

In the desert, the crowd considers the monument at the site of the first atomic bomb explosion

By 7:45 Saturday morning, 150 cars are lined up bumper to bumper, lights on —station wagons, Mustangs, Winnebagos from places like Indiana, North Dakota and Ohio. A couple from Florida in a rented car wait for the motorcade to begin. The husband fidgets nervously with his movie camera, anxious to get to the Trinity site, the 432 sq. mi. of desert where the world's first atomic bomb was exploded on July 16, 1945, at precisely 5:29:45 a.m., Mountain War Time. Once a year the site is opened to visitors. "We've been looking forward to this for a long time," the man says. "The whole atomic thing began during my lifetime, and this is kind of romantic."

In the parking lot, members of the Alamogordo Chamber of Commerce busily hand out leaflets warning that radiation on the site is still above average levels. A booklet adds that it is only one-fifth as great as the radiation received from a chest X ray. No eating, drinking or smoking is permitted within the ten-acre, fenced-in area around ground zero, lest radioactive materials be ingested. "What's a little radiation?" scoffs 14-year-old Lee Hutchinson, visiting Trinity for the second time. "It's bad at Three Mile Island because that's in the middle of civilization. But this is really in the middle of nothing."

It certainly is. One hundred and fifty miles from the southern border of New Mexico and just over 100 miles from Alamogordo, the site lies between two jagged mountain ranges in a valley named by the conquistadors *Jornada del Muerto* (Dead Man's Walk). It is remote and entirely unpopulated, the perfect testing ground for the plutonium monster that the "longhairs" were concocting at Los Alamos in 1944. That winter Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the father of the atom bomb, was pressed to give the site a code name. The erudite scientist glanced down at some lines of John Donne's poetry in a volume that he had been reading: "Batter my heart, three-person'd God." "Trinity," he said over the phone, "we'll call it Trinity."

The blast on July 16, 1945

The flash of what Winston Churchill called the "second coming in wrath" could be seen as far as 250 miles away. The blast was heard 50 miles away. Its explosive power was as great as that of 20,000 tons of TNT.

This morning, in mock-funeral fashion, the motorcade of atomic-age pilgrims solemnly winds its way past whorls of dust and yucca bushes to reach the 6-ft. Cyclone chain-link fence that surrounds

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The New Traditionalists gather at Turnberry Isle for Black & White Championship Backgammon

1. Painter Jean Sobieski arrived well-equipped with surprise offensive tactics ...and displayed quite a knack for back game maneuvers. **2.** This happy group celebrated après tennis finals with their host Black & White Scotch. (From left) Mal Meister, Brenda Thener, Stanley Multin, Bert Kaufman, Donna Multin, Renee Lemelin. **3.** Best combo of all Poolside backgammon and Black & White. Just ask Law Student Susan Teicher (center) and friends. **4.** The hit of the festivities was Black & White Scotch, which mixes well with any activity! **5.** English Model Carol Lorenz won several backgammon matches...not bad—for a beginner! **6.** Investor Thomas H. Jarvis III bears off while opponent (right) Rick Hilton's man is on the bar. Beyond is Vladimir Dobrich, whose chances of a gammon decrease when his opponent rolls a double six.

Black & White Scotch. The New Tradition.

the blast area. Among the pilgrims, some 1,700 of them, are mothers and babies, parents and grandparents, families of three and four who scurry out of cars, Minoltas in hand, eager to record for posterity the "place where it all began." What they see is nothing much. The original 400-yd., 25-ft.-deep crater has long since been filled in to prevent further radiation. The "pearls of Trinity"—ceramic-like green glass, or Trinitite, formed from the sand by the enormous blast of heat—have been mostly buried or stolen by souvenir hunters. A few relics remain, though, sparkling in the pale sun, and visitors still filch them, cramming the radioactive rocks into their pockets.

Along the mesh fence is hung, like pictures at a street art exhibit, a series of large photographs showing the second-by-second history of the atomic explosion with brutal earnestness. The crowds pass silently from picture to picture. A small obelisk, made of black lava stone found in the area, stands at ground zero, permanently marking the spot where the bomb rested on a steel tower 100 ft. tall. Children pose for pictures beside it.

One pilgrim, Harold Ryder, lingers a moment. "I designed the tower for that bomb," he confides. "I was in Ohio, and we had a contract from the University of California. We knew it was going to be used for a test, but we didn't know what kind of test." Some weeks later, he reveals, the chief engineer came in with a photograph of what was left of the tower: it had totally evaporated. Marvels the 78-year-old Ryder: "He had a piece of glass in his hand and said, 'This is what happened to the sand. We exploded an atomic bomb.' I didn't know what an atomic bomb was."

There is a touch of patriotism. Elmer Leigh, down from Denver, says he journeyed here this morning "out of a sense of loyalty to the country and what we were able to accomplish here." But most of today's pilgrims are people searching for the roots of the world as it is now. "I'm kind of curious," says Vic Baugus, an engineer up from Houston with his wife and two children. "Who knows, we may all go out with this thing, and at least I've been here to see what it's done once." Says another man: "I'm antinuclear. I just wanted to see what opened the whole can of worms."

John Hierath of El Paso has come with his Japanese wife and five-month-old baby. "We've been to Nagasaki and seen the peace monument there," he explains. "And my wife's brother lives in Hiroshima. When we heard about this, we were really excited. We're all set, even have our own little Geiger counter."

There are plenty of Geiger counters. Damon Rich, 11, is carrying one that he made himself as a member of a White

No People on your Christmas list?

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People weekly

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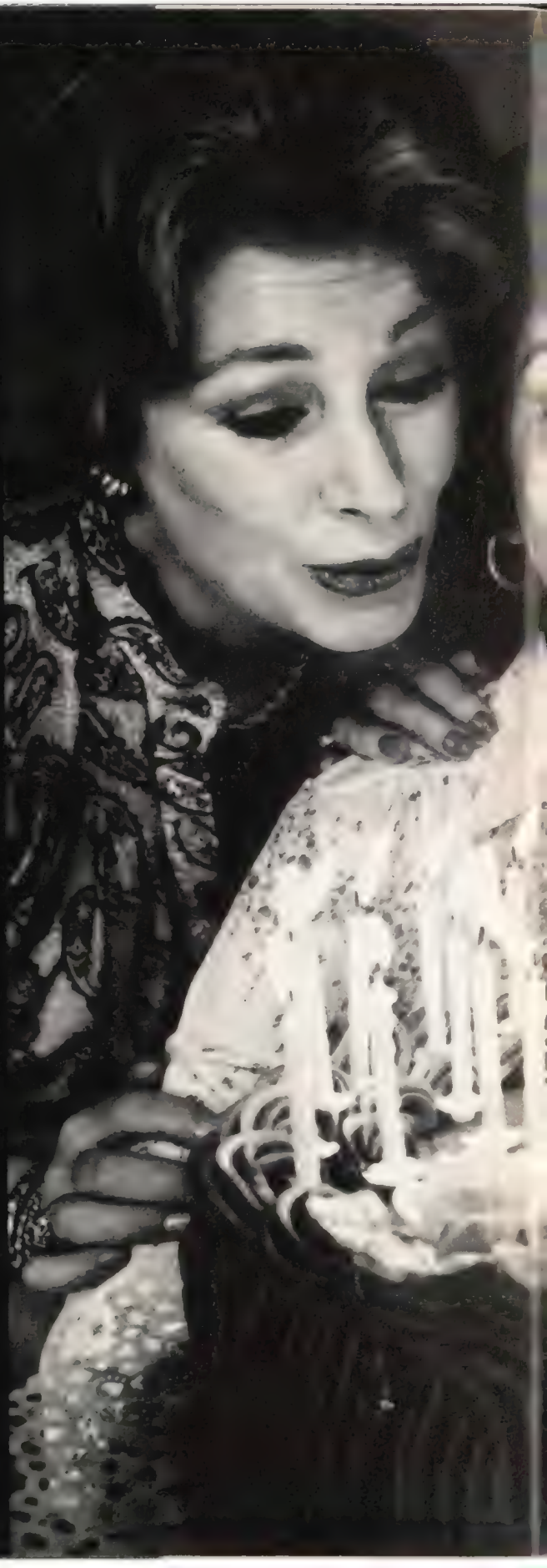

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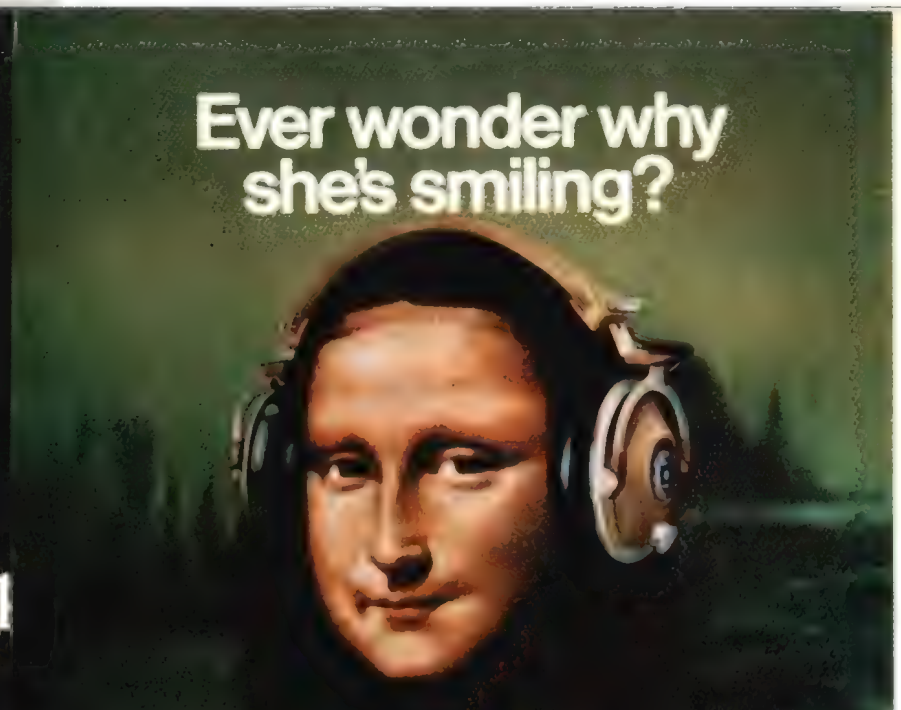

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American Scene

Sands Boy Scout troop. Rich and a few of his cronies are ambling all over the grounds as part of a larger venture designed to earn them their "atomic energy" merit badges. "It's not a very exciting place," Rich sighs, "but you do learn about radioactivity."

Ronald Smith has a purpose too. Glancing stealthily around the remote deserted plain, he slowly and carefully chooses his words. "I came here because I'm anti-Government," he confides. "Did you look carefully at the mountains as you drove up here today? Did you see all the diggings? Fifteen miles down the way is a place called Victorio Peak where there's a crack in the ground 2,000 ft. deep, where the Indians hid 100 tons of gold. Ova Noss's husband found it, and shortly after that the Government decided it had to have all of the property. I want to see what they're up to on the backside of these mountains."

The Victorio of Victorio Peak in Smith's story was an Apache chief who allegedly stashed his tribal riches inside the mountain shortly before he was murdered by the Mexican army in 1880. For 100 years the legend of that treasure has grown in New Mexico. In 1977 an expedition backed by none other than Lawyer F. Lee Bailey spent eight days and thousands of dollars trying to find the cache, rumored to be worth more than a billion dollars. "They've got the gold," Ronald Smith now whispers. "The Government's got the gold." But Smith admits that there is still another reason for his being here: "I've got arthritis," he confesses. "Maybe an hour and a half out here in the radiation will do me some good."

About 11:15 Richard Baker, associate director for National Security Programs at the now famous hilltop laboratory, gives a little talk about the old days in Los Alamos. He begins: "It is very difficult to convey the special spirit of that particular time and place. Working toward a common goal, people formed a strong bond and sensed they were part of something romantic—as indeed they were." Engineer Bill Dunlap listens carefully. One of seven Los Alamos Old Boys to return to Trinity this Saturday, Dunlap oversaw construction of the Trinity bunkers and other campsites. He was one of several hundred men sworn never to reveal what he didn't know. "Lady, to be truthful, we didn't know what we were doing," the portly gentleman grins. On the evening of the Trinity test, Dunlap had it straight from the horse's mouth that Los Alamos was producing submarines and Trinity was being constructed to supply additional parts.

At 11:50 a.m. the event is over. The chain-link fence is padlocked for yet another year. The cameras are packed away. The 489 cars quickly disperse into the desert, bound back to civilization. —*By D.L. Cou*

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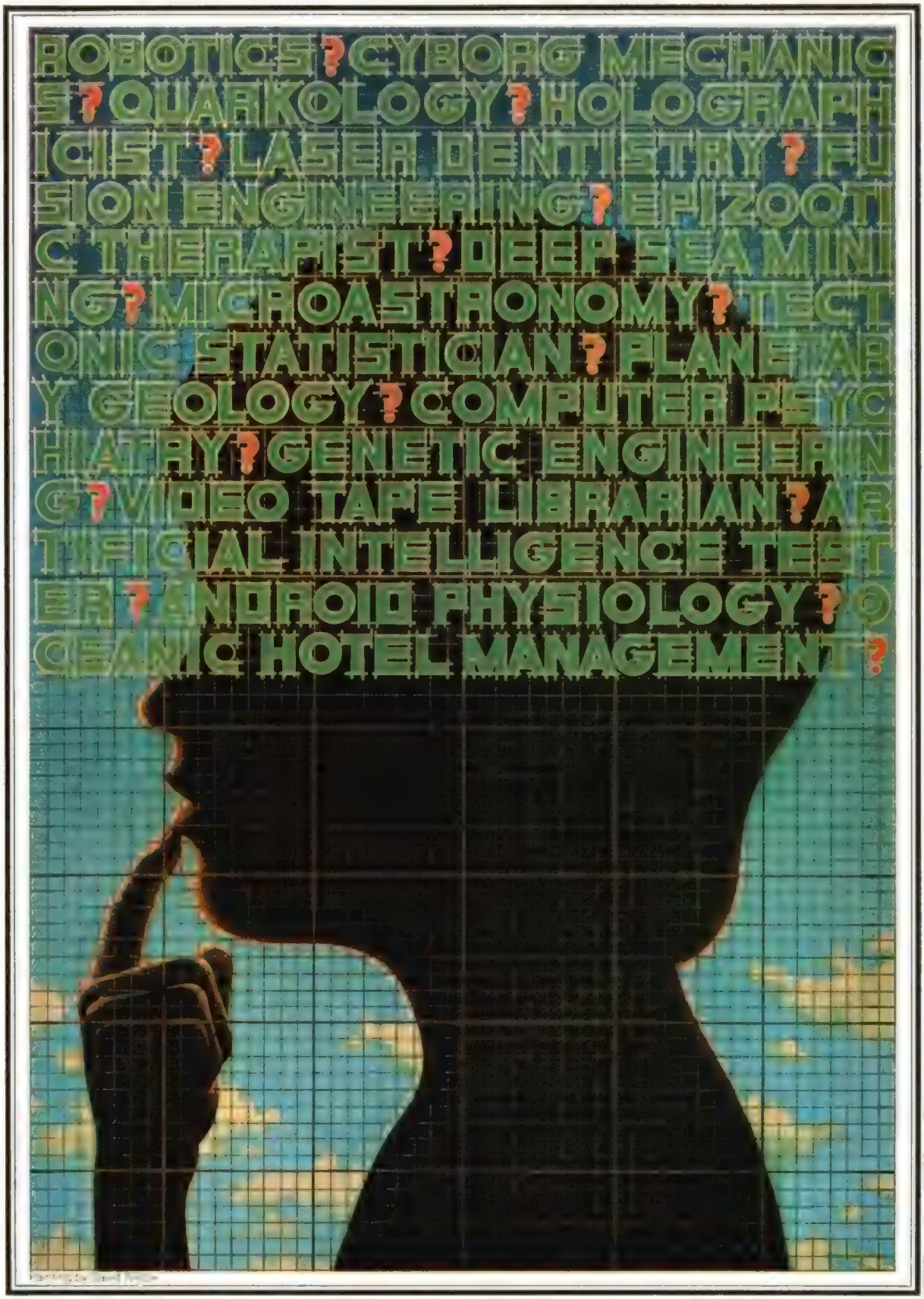

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Technologies are expanding so quickly that it is next to impossible to predict which careers are going to be important–or even in existence–in 20 years.

Then how can we prepare our children–and perhaps ourselves–to make a living in this changing world?

Lunar mining? Robot psychology? Oceanic hotel management? Subquarkian physics?

The stupendous pace of technological development will be a boon to our children's generation but it gives them a problem kids have never had before: it's going to be much more difficult to know what they're going to be when they grow up.

Even after graduating college they may *still* not know for sure; today's five-year-olds may have to retool their skills several times in the course of a working life.

What this means, as a practical matter, is that one of the major "jobs" in the future will be learning itself. What we now call "work" may be redefined to include a strong component of *learning*. Learning will never stop. Because those people who stop learning will stop working.

But what can we do now to prepare for this new and unpredictable way of life?

We must give our children nothing less than the ability to think, the ability to absorb facts quickly and then structure them into a useful discipline. Creativity, chance-taking and insight will be at a premium along with adaptability to rapid change.

It's the kind of thinking which educators have been *attempting* to teach at least since the time of Socrates.

How then will our children, instead of just learning today's "lessons," learn to be experts at continuous learning? From our teachers? But who will teach the teachers this new way of looking at things?

For a number of reasons, educational systems tend to become institutionalized: because of the expensive commitment to physical plant, previous training, established curricula and lack of discretionary funds for experimentation. Now, suddenly, they must de-institutionalize to meet a rapidly compressing future. What can we do?

New directions must be tested, new insights gained. The most talented teachers must be rewarded and pushed to the fore, while computers (as well as other technologies) are exploited to the limit to increase the efficiency of teaching, remembering that there is still no substitute for inspired teachers who believe in their students and have the capacity to arouse their wonder, demand their best and encourage their creativity.

But before *anything* can change, parents, educators and legislators must first *recognize* the need to make education a lifelong process.

None of this change will be easy—but, by looking at lifelong learning as an imperative vocational skill, the educational system will make it possible for the rest of society to move smoothly into the unpredictable future.

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TIME/NOVEMBER 3, 1980

COVER STORIES

Battling Down the Stretch

Debates in Tehran and Cleveland bring the campaign to a climax

Seldom has an American election headed into such a wildly unpredictable windup. Suddenly, the years of campaign planning, the months of oratory, the endless procession of TV spots, handshaking tours, charge and countercharge seemed little more than an arduous overture to the possibility that Iran would decide to release the 52 American hostages, and to the reality of the face-to-face TV confrontation this week between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. How the debates in Tehran and Cleveland are decided could fulfill the dreams of one candidate while shattering those of the other—or, possibly, result in inconclusive dithering.

Neither event has any solid precedent. To be sure, world events, real or promised, such as the Suez war and Hungarian revolt in 1956, and Henry Kissinger's "Peace is at hand" statement in 1972, have influenced voters on the eves of past elections. But neither of those was a close race, and never before has the decision on so emotional an issue as the hostages been so totally under the control of a foreign government.

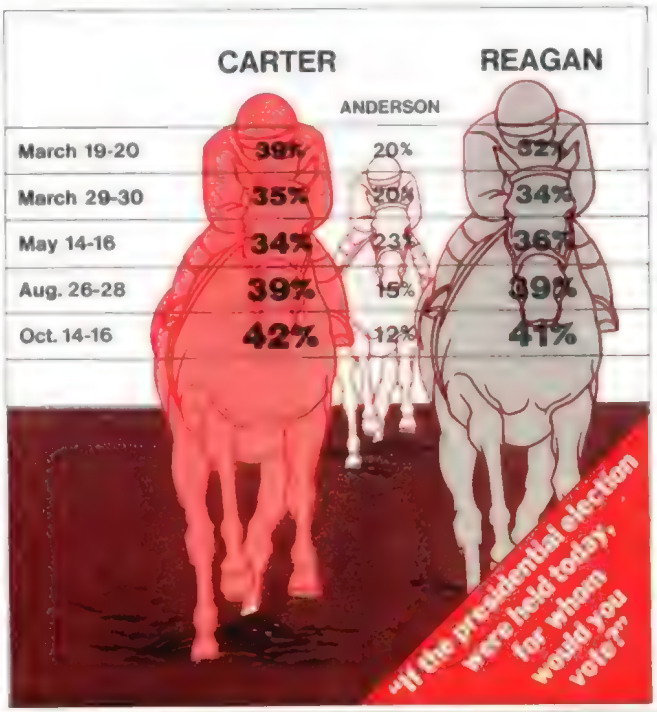
The Kennedy-Nixon and Carter-Ford debates in 1960 and 1976 are equally irrelevant to this week's face-off. Those earlier debates occurred in series of four and three beginning early in September, giving the candidates ample time to polish their arguments between rounds and pound them home in later campaign appearances. This time Carter and Reagan have taken the gamble of facing each other just once, in full knowledge that any mistakes they make cannot be repaired or retouched in the week remaining before the vote.

That the choice of who will govern the nation for four years may well depend on the acts of a hostile, often irrational Iranian government and the impression two carefully rehearsed politicians make in a fleeting 90 minutes of TV time is deeply disquieting. But in a sense the election has been building toward that kind of bizarre climax. For more than a year, two flawed candidates have been floundering toward the final showdown, each unable to give any but his most unquestioning supporters much reason to vote for him except dislike of his opponent. Carter has been dogged by inflation and unemployment at home and turmoil overseas during his years in office. Reagan by a reputation for right-wing extremism and simplistic thinking. Each at some point held a lead in the polls: Carter early in the year, Reagan immediately after the Republican Convention. Each was unable to hold his advantage.

The release of the hostages, both candidates' camps agree, would give the President's campaign a powerful boost. The Republicans would have to join in the national rejoicing. Says one Reagan adviser: "We would grit our teeth and say how delighted we are."

But there are hazards for the President. Carter's advisers know that he will be suspected of having cut a cynical deal with Iran to have the hostages returned just when their release would most affect the election. Says one of the President's confidants: "The way the release is done and the way it is seen—particularly if people think it has been a manipulative exercise—are very important and could cause a real negative backlash." Much will depend on the terms of the release. On Sunday the Iranian parliament debated the fate of the hostages in a stormy, secret session, but did not agree on what these terms would be. Carter would be put in a tight political bind if the Iranians should demand an apology, which he has already ruled out, or the sale of new weapons, which would be seen as a reward for perpetrating an international outrage as well as a break from the U.S. position of neutrality in the gulf conflict. But the other conditions that have been discussed publicly by Iran seem mild enough; Reagan has called most of them acceptable.

Fearing a backlash if the hostages were not released, Carter took great pains last week to warn that he could not be sure what would happen. Speaking to a small group in Gloucester, N.J., he warned that too much optimism could "lead to very bitter disappointment in our country if they don't come home when we think they might."



The hostage issue set off one of the angriest exchanges of a vituperative campaign. In Louisville, responding to a Carter gibe that he did not understand foreign affairs, Reagan ticked off a sarcastic list of other things he did not understand. Last item: "I don't understand why 52 Americans have been held hostage for almost a year now." To reporters he added later: "I believe that this Administration's foreign policy helped create the entire situation that made their kidnap possible. And I think the fact that they have been there that long is a humiliation and a disgrace to this country." In Herrin, Ill., Reagan said that he had "some ideas" about how to free the hostages but would not elaborate, faulting the President for "negotiating in the press."

Carter hit back hard, and a little low. He accused Reagan of breaking a pledge to keep the hostages out of the campaign, "complicating

Defending against "this warmonger charge": Reagan in Cincinnati

Pressing the "Tolstoy Issue": Carter at a dinner in New Orleans

An all-or-nothing duel on TV for those last elusive, decisive few percentage points—and no time to recoup any errors.

an already grave situation," and added piously that the issue "is too important to be made a political football." At a rally in Waco, Texas, he sneered at Reagan's "some ideas" remark: "I noticed that Governor Reagan announced he has a secret plan to get the hostages back. Do you remember when Richard Nixon said just before an election in 1968 that he had a secret plan to win the war in Viet Nam? Well, we still don't know what Mr. Nixon's plan was."

Carter indeed was in a swaggering mood. He appeared at the Waco rally in red hand-tooled cowboy boots and told the crowd why he was wearing them: "The Republicans have a habit of spreading a lot of horse manure around right before an election. Lately, it's been getting pretty deep all over the country."

The angry exchange broke off as the candidates brought their campaigns almost to a dead stop while they prepared for the debate. For both it was a hair-raising risk. Earlier debates have turned on the most inconsequential factors: Richard Nixon's 5 o'clock shadow in 1960, Gerald Ford's gaffe in saying that Poland was not under Soviet domination in 1976. But those candidates had weeks to refurbish their images; Carter and Reagan will have no such luxury. Yet neither candidate felt he could pass up the chance to score a breakthrough and win that final, elusive, decisive few percentage points of the vote. Nor could either candidate appear to be ducking the other's challenge in a race in which neither can any longer afford to give the other the slightest advantage.

For the fact is, entering the final round of the campaign, they have fought each other to a draw. The latest poll for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., shows Carter leading 42% to 41%, with 12% for Anderson and 5% undecided. But Carter's lead is so small, well within the range of a possible sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points, as to be almost meaningless, particularly since it is not the popular vote that determines who shall be the next President. A "national" election, of course, is really an amalgam of elections in the 50 states and the District of Columbia: the winner has to assemble a combination of 270 or more electoral votes. Estimates by TIME correspondents show Reagan leading in states with 246 electoral votes, Carter in states with only 159. But many of the leads are so slim that Republican Pollster Robert Teeter estimates that a swing of a mere 3% in the national popular vote could switch states with 200 electoral votes—a remarkable number. Essentially the election is turning out exactly the way many political pros always thought it would: so close that almost anything could decide the outcome at the last minute.

Thus both men approached the showdown on TV with the caution the situation deserved. Their aides wrangled for hours last week before settling on Cleveland on the night of Oct. 28 as offered by the League of Women Voters. At one point Carter's camp proposed a debate on Oct. 26, the day the Iranian parliament had scheduled to discuss the hostages. The Reaganites refused because, as Campaign Aide James Baker candidly explained, "One thing we did not want was an announcement about the hostages by the President Sunday night during the debate." The later in the week, Reagan's advisers figured, the less chance there would be for Carter to steal the show with a dramatic announcement of good news from Tehran.

Carter came off the campaign trail Saturday afternoon to go to Camp David, where he planned to spend most of the weekend. He brought along a thick notebook crammed with analyses of Reagan's positions, past and present. Said Research Chief Martin Franks: "Carter knows how he ought to answer the questions himself. What he needs to study is how Reagan will probably answer." Mostly, however, the President intended to use the three days before the debate to rest, clear his mind and psych himself up for the confrontation.

Anderson: "What was given?"

Reagan retired over the weekend to his rented estate in Virginia to study Carter's

White-hatted Governor piloting paddle-wheel steamboat on cruise down the Ohio River

style as intently as Carter was studying his. The challenger's aides spent hours viewing TV tapes of Carter's three debates four years ago with Ford. "At this point in the campaign, we're not going to teach Reagan anything new," said one adviser. "What we want to help him do is to figure out the rhythms of Carter's attacks and to help fashion responses." It seemed likely that Reagan would hold a full dress rehearsal, with one of his aides playing the role of Jimmy Carter.

Each candidate faced a serious problem striking the right attitude and tone. Carter's advisers warned him to curb his propensity for firing a confusing machine-gun barrage of statistics and instead to concentrate on making only a few points well. They also vowed to sharpen the differences between the President and the Republican. "If people switch off their sets and say there's no difference between the two, we've really got a problem," said one adviser. But another added, "Carter can't be humorless or preachy or press too hard, because that would just revive the meanness issue." Reagan's camp viewed the debate as their man's last, best chance to refocus the campaign on Carter's record, which they regard as one of general incompetence. So Reagan had to attack, while at the same time presenting himself to doubting voters as calm, dignified, "presidential." The compleat public personality, Reagan knows how to use a soft answer to turn away wrath and humor to score a point. He was a clear winner in the only joint appearance of the campaign with Carter at the Al Smith dinner in New York City, a relaxed Type B to Carter's forced Type A.

Their success at self-conscious image molding, of course, is just about the last ground on which the candidates should be judged. Some far more important points for viewers to keep in mind when trying to judge the men from what they see and hear: Which contender took the more serious approach, showed the best grasp of the issues, presented the most coherent arguments, marked out the most distinctive positions? How well did what each said fit in with Carter's record in office and Reagan's rhetoric in his years on the stump? Did either suddenly take a new position, and if so, did he explain why or blithely ignore the switch? The debate above all should not be viewed in isolation, but in the context of the political records that Carter and Reagan have been making for years.

Given the anxiety of both candidates that they might commit a fatal blunder, neither side would be surprised if the debate ended in a draw, with Carter and Reagan each essentially confirming the impressions, good and bad, already held about them by most voters. If so, though Iran's actions on the hostages could still upset all the odds, the stage seemed set for a nerve-rackingly close decision.

Before the campaign was, in effect, suspended for debate preparations, the momentum had seemed to be moving toward Carter, although Richard Wirthlin, Reagan's pollster, claimed his man actually was 6 points ahead as the week began. The President was benefiting from a variety of trends, including reluctant decisions by many disaffected Democrats —Jews in New York, Hispanics in Texas, blacks everywhere—to vote for Carter after all because they simply did not want Reagan in the White House. The same seems true of many liberals who once backed Anderson but now conclude that voting for him would be a futile gesture of protest.

Most of all, Carter's position has been improving because of his relentless attack on what his aides call the Tolstoy (*i.e.*, war and peace) issue. When the President set out several weeks ago to slam home the fear that Reagan lacked the will and judgment to keep the U.S. out of war, the attack seemed a risky exercise that might backfire. But whatever may be thought of the fairness of the strategy, it has turned out that Carter's instincts, and the advice of Pollster Patrick Caddell, were politically sound: fear of nuclear war is indeed an issue the President can successfully exploit.

All last week, the President increased his assault. In a radio speech from the Oval Office, he asserted that "peace is my passion ... peace is my pledge." He added: "Over the last 20 years, we have taken some steps away from the nuclear precipice. Now, for the first time, we are being advised to take steps that may move us toward it." The next day, he explained by sardonically describing Reagan's arms-control policy: "First, throw the existing nuclear-arms limitation treaty [SALT II] in the wastebasket. Second, threaten the Soviet Union with a nuclear-arms race. Third, launch a quest for so-called nuclear superiority." Though it was Carter who requested that the Senate delay consideration of SALT II after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, he now describes the pact as his "secret weapon" to reduce the Soviet nuclear arsenal "without costing a dime."

These onslaughts have forced Reagan onto the defensive at a time when his campaign script had called for him to focus voters' attention on Carter's economic record. Reagan tried repeatedly to raise it last week. As part of his "I don't understand" litany in Louis-

Cowboy-booted President and party symbol in Waco, Texas

"The Republicans are spreading a lot of horse manure."

ville, he asserted: "I don't understand why the elderly have to pay more and more for what they buy, while they are limited in the income they have. I don't understand why his [Carter's] answer to inflation was to put 2 million people out of work." In a Friday night TV speech, Reagan pointed out that the consumer price index rose in September at a 12.7% annual rate and declared that Carter's record on inflation and unemployment "is a failure on a scale so vast, in dimensions so broad, with effects so devastating, that it is virtually without parallel in American history."

But again and again Reagan had to spend precious time fighting what he calls "this warmongering charge," and his replies had a petulant tone. In Cincinnati, he asserted: "The President seems determined to have me start a nuclear war. Well, I'm just as determined not to." After he was endorsed by Viet Nam Dove Eugene McCarthy, Reagan said: "Maybe this will give some people confidence that I don't eat my young." On one of his tours last week he brought along former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and William Rogers to demonstrate that he has the trust of men with deep experience in foreign policy.

Still, the peace issue is hurting Reagan. One example: in Illinois, a Republican has to run up big margins in the five "collar counties" around Chicago to offset the Democratic city tally and win the state's vital 26 electoral votes. But in DuPage County, where Ford took 71% of the vote in 1976, Democratic polls show Reagan pulling only 50%. Says County Democratic Coordinator Sue Ellen Johnson: "It's the feeling that Reagan is not up to it mentally and that he is not afraid of war as much as he should be." Republican leaders in DuPage admit privately that they are "very, very concerned."

But for every trend there is a puzzling offsetting countertrend. If some national polls show the President now leading by an eyelash, many state polls show Reagan ahead by small margins among the people most likely to vote. If Anderson backers in most states are drifting toward Carter, those in Michigan are mainly moderate Republicans who are moving to Reagan, preserving the Californian's narrow lead in that all-important state. If Carter is moving up in Washington and Oregon, once considered leaning to Reagan, the Republicans cherish rising hopes that they will carry some states in Carter's Southern bastion—Mississippi, South Carolina, maybe Louisiana.

An election this close ought to be decided by the voters carefully weighing the real and serious differences between the candidates. But as Nov. 4 draws even closer, the chance grows that the 1980 election will be swung by the decisions of an erratic government in Iran or by ephemeral images on TV. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and Christopher Ogden with Carter*

The Presidency / Hugh Sidey

More to the Job Than Acting

The bizarre circumstances of this stage-door presidential campaign conspired to make Tuesday's television drama a climactic, winner-take-all event. It is not only silly, it is dangerous. But the candidates themselves declared it would be vital—and the pollsters, and the journalists. No wonder Americans began to believe the reviews of how they were expected to respond. To hear some tell it, they were planning to pull up around the television set as if it were Oscar night in Hollywood and measure teeth, hair, voices, eyes and shapes, thus resolving months of indecision by observing 90 minutes of two-dimensional posturing.

It could work that way. The so-called debate between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan may be terribly influential in deciding the final vote, but, in truth, it is of marginal value in providing information for anyone to assess realistically the skills and intelligence needed by a President. Reagan hoped to demonstrate his heft and grasp of the issues, and Carter declared he would show everybody that he could memorize the script and would not have to use cue cards if he faces Brezhnev in another round of negotiations.

DIRCK HALSTEAD

Carter during first Ford debate (1976)

In fact, if Reagan believed that in a weekend of cramming for the debate he could add to his presidential dimensions, he is more shallow than now perceived by many. And if Carter really negotiated with Brezhnev or anyone else without prepared position papers on the table in front of him or in the briefcases of his aides, he would be more reckless and naive than even his detractors have imagined.

There is some worth in having a President who is articulate under pressure, well funded with instantly retrievable facts and unawed by the stature of his adversary. But those skills form only a small part of the abilities a President needs to run the nation.

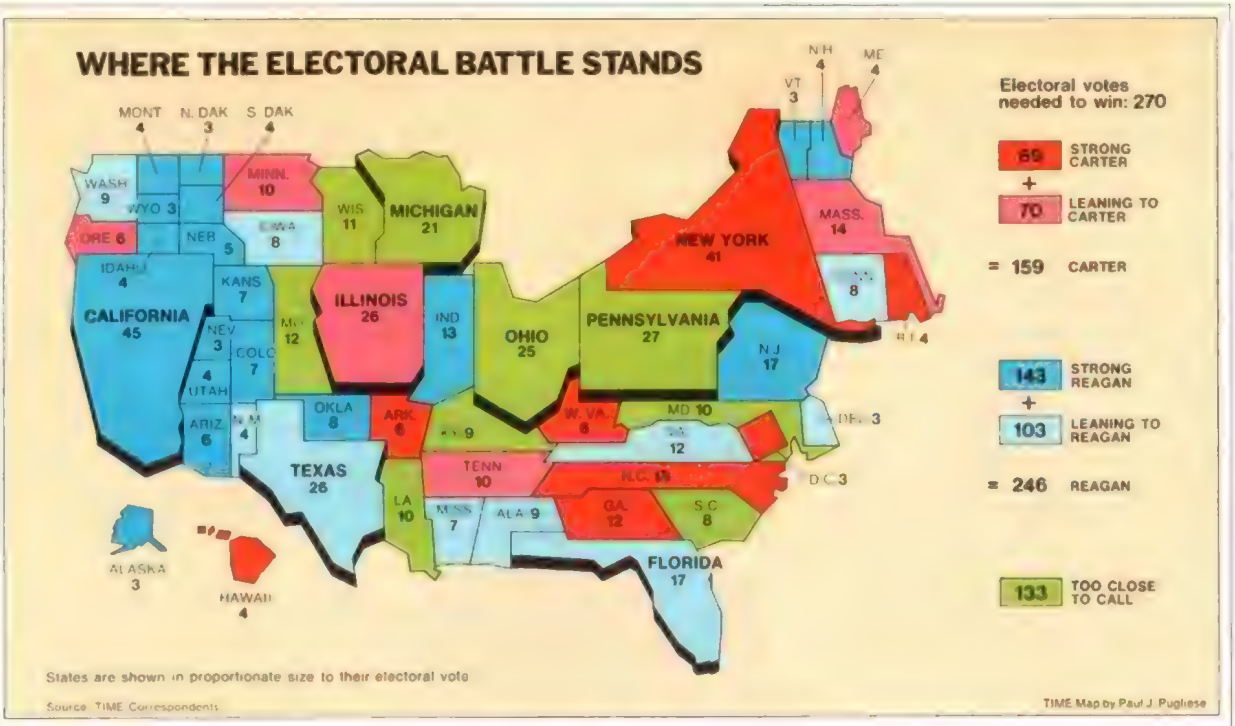
Presidential debates compel both men to gloss over their miscalculations, exaggerate their strengths, try to lure the other one into error, in order to emerge in the eyes of the public at large as a "winner." All of these objectives so coveted in television performances are the opposite of the qualities so vital to Executive deliberation and diplomatic negotiation.

Success in the Oval Office requires that mistakes be acknowledged and corrected, that communication be direct and candid, both internally and with outside adversaries. In this time of penetrating surveillance and instant communication, the old art of bluffing and posturing is often foolish and hazardous. We know each other's capabilities. Thus clear understanding of purposes is essential. It is a basic rule of today's diplomacy that successful negotiations never produce "winners" in the television sense, only satisfied parties on both sides of the table. Threats hurled back and forth are a sign of failed leadership.

The 1976 Ford-Carter encounters are an example of how this electronic drama can obscure meaning and mislead audiences. Carter at first was awed facing a President. But his grasp of facts and his spiritual armor were enough to restore confidence, while Ford bumbled along and made his startling claim that Poland was not under Soviet dominance. In those swift television rounds, Challenger Carter skillfully danced, jabbed and flicked his facts. Ford, burdened with himself and his office, lost the decision.

What the encounter never revealed—and could not—was that Carter had no clear vision of where he wanted to go once he became President, that he knew almost nothing about running the Government that he would inherit, that his views of the world were naive and his concept of the use of U.S. power was unformed.

When we get around to improving this inadequate system for electing Presidents, some serious thought must be devoted to changing the public presentation of the candidates so that actors do not view the presidency as just another stage and Presidents understand that there is more to the job than acting.



The Future Begins on Nov. 4

Carter and Reagan offer the voters a difference that really matters

Amid the whirlwind of emotions over the late-late TV showdown debate and the American hostages, U.S. voters will go to the polls on Nov. 4 to make an irrevocable choice with which they will have to live for at least four years. Despite the confusion caused by the shifting positions of the presidential candidates and the hyperbole and innuendo of a disappointing campaign, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan offer, in many ways, clear-cut and contrasting choices. Whatever other complaints the 1980 American voter may have (and there are many), he cannot complain that he has been confronted with Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

The conservative California Republican and the centrist Georgia Democrat are locked in a dead-even struggle that could affect the role of the Federal Government in domestic affairs, create a clean split in political philosophy between the two major parties, profoundly affect the nation's economy and energy directions, and deeply influence the role America plays on the global stage, thus raising the prospect of increased international tension.

There are striking similarities between the campaign Carter ran in 1976 and the one Reagan is conducting this year. Then Carter was opposing Big Government, just as Reagan is today. The former Georgia Governor wound up settling for some civil service reforms and deregulation of the airline and trucking industries. But these were modest improvements in making the Government work rather than any real dismantling of the existing power structure.

Reagan would try harder—a good deal harder. He sincerely believes that "the permanent structure" of Washington bureaucracy stifles free enterprise and individual initiative. He is deeply—and instinctively—committed to "getting the Government off the backs of the people." When Reagan vows to reduce the regulatory role of Government, eliminate such recent bureaucratic creations as the departments of Education and Energy, and wipe out countless petty federal forms that businessmen must fill out, he can be counted on to fight hard to do just that.

Despite talk of a new "pragmatism" in Reagan's thinking, he has not really abandoned any of the fundamental beliefs he has held for many years. For purely political purposes, he has made some token shifts, such as favoring federal aid for both New York City and the Chrysler Corp., but both are questions that have already been firmly resolved. Reagan really is not a moderate on any major domestic issue, although, as his record as Governor shows, circumstances can force him to change his policies.

Reagan and Carter differ sharply in their views of the role of the Federal Government in solving the nation's social problems. Because of fiscal restraints, Carter has not pushed hard for new programs, but he has no philosophical quarrel with the long-held tenet of the Democratic Party that it is the Government's responsibility to help uplift the lowly, keep a watch on the powerful and legislate equal opportunity. In contrast, Reagan is deeply suspicious of Washington's trying to cure the ills of American society. He is much more inclined to let the job be done on a state or local basis, and, wherever possible, by private enterprise rather than by Government. For example, he would try to get the Federal Government out of the welfare business; Carter believes it should take on even more welfare responsibilities.

There is another fascinating contrast between Carter and Reagan in their views of the proper role of the Federal Government. Reagan sees no contradiction with his basic philosophy when he urges federal action to support the so-called traditional values. For example, he endorses constitutional amendments to limit abortion and to permit prayers in the classrooms. Carter, on the other hand, feels that the Government should stay out of such matters.

While their philosophies of government contrast sharply, Reagan and Carter are surprisingly close together on some specific domestic issues:

The Economy. Reagan has assailed the Carter economic record time and again, citing its huge budget deficits and its high rates of both inflation and unemployment. Yet the Governor has failed to make the economy the dominant issue of the campaign because he has been unable to convince a vast majority of voters that his approach, centering largely on tax cuts, would be much more successful than Carter's various plans. At the same time, the difference in economic proposals between the two candidates has narrowed, though their fundamental difference of attitude about the economy has not.

Both now advocate income tax cuts. Reagan's would include a 10% reduction in individual tax rates in each of his first three years in office. The first-year savings for businesses and individual taxpayers would total about $36 billion. Part would come from an accelerated depreciation schedule for business investments to encourage expansion. Reagan has abandoned his "supply-side" economic theory claim that such tax cuts would stimulate so much economic growth that swelling tax revenues would permit him to increase defense spending and balance the budget at the same time. His advisers now estimate that his plan would mean a total cut in taxes of $192 billion by 1985, while only $39 billion would be raised in revenues from economic growth. Yet Reagan promises to balance the budget by 1983, closing the gap by reducing Government spending. Beyond calling for the elimination of "waste and fraud," he has not been specific about what he would do or the programs that he would curtail to reach his goal.

Under the pressure of the campaign, Carter, with some reluctance, has also proposed a tax cut for next year. It would provide $27.6 billion in relief to taxpayers and a faster write-off for business depreciation. Surprisingly, for a Democratic plan, a larger share of the savings would go to business than under Reagan's proposal. Carter would give individuals just $11.9 billion in cuts; business would get $15.7 billion. But there is one key difference: Carter's plan for individual reductions would be used to offset the scheduled 1981 increase in Social Security taxes. This would reduce taxes for everyone with incomes up to $29,700 a year (next year's cutoff point for Social Security payroll taxes), but have no effect on the marginal rates for workers who make more. This, say conservative economists, would limit the tax cut's effect on providing individual incentives for increased productivity and willingness to seek work.

Defense. Reagan has long demanded an increase in spending to strengthen both strategic and conventional military forces. Carter, who had come into office with a promise to reduce the military budget, now proposes to increase it next year by $24 billion. Both advocate higher salaries to make the all-volunteer armed forces more attractive, particularly to needed specialists who are leaving the services in alarming numbers.

On specific weapons, Reagan has criticized Carter's decision to delay production of the neutron bomb and cancel the B-1 bomber. Carter contends that the cruise missile has made the B-1 obsolete but he has, with some campaign fanfare, suggested that a bomber employing "stealth" radar-baffling technology may be built instead. Both candidates support the new MX missile, although they differ about how the land-based weapon should be deployed.

There is one defense issue on which Reagan's position is more dangerous than Carter's: how to reach an effective strategic arms agreement with the Soviet Union. The Reagan proposal to scrap SALT II and renegotiate an entirely new treaty is simply not plausible, as Carter discovered to his chagrin when he tried the same thing with Moscow in 1977 *(see box)*. There is no doubt that Reagan's stance runs the higher risk of a new, costly and counterproductive arms race, although he has modified an earlier position that the U.S. be militarily superior to the Soviets to an insistence that the U.S. have a "margin of safety" over the Soviets.

The Environment. Reagan made novel statements about what most threatens clean air; he has cited both trees and Mount St. Helens as wreaking more havoc than auto exhausts, leading to a joke in the Reagan press corps about "the attack of the killer trees." Such nonsense has reduced his credibility in this field. Still, as Governor, he earned respect in California by upholding rigid water-pollution and smog-control laws and by protecting an additional 145,000 acres of park lands from private commercial use. In any clash between energy development and the environment, however, Reagan would be expected to give priority to energy. Carter's priorities seem the reverse, although he, too, is a supporter of nuclear power expansion. He has been a strong backer of the Environmental Protection Agency and has supported the Clean Air Act despite complaints from coal producers that it hinders production. He has also backed a strong congressional bill protecting Alaska lands. In a clash between economic growth and environmental protection, he would likely come down on the side of conservation.

Foreign Policy. As the campaign evolved, Carter skillfully managed to reduce the discussions on the foreign policy issues to

WHY THEY ARE FOR CARTER

- He does not have to begin by learning the job. His experience gives him a grasp of the complexities of the office and the nation's problems.
- He will press for ratification of SALT II and maintain adequate U.S. military strength without inviting an all-out arms race.
- He understands the limitations and dangers involved in the use of U.S. power in the world, and within these limits has achieved some noteworthy successes.
- He is especially concerned about the nation's social problems.
- He is disciplined, intelligent, a master of detail, and only 56 years old.
- He is not Ronald Reagan.

WHY THEY ARE FOR REAGAN

- He would try to get Washington off the country's back. He is determined to improve the economy by stimulating business, easing regulation and limiting Government spending.
- He would surround himself with able men and women, heed their advice —and give us a fresh start.
- He would work hard to restore respect for America around the world, would not hesitate to use U.S. power, and would stand up to the Soviets.
- He would bring consistency to the pursuit of U.S. policy.
- He is an optimist who refuses to accept as inevitable the decline either of U.S. influence abroad or of traditional American virtues and values at home.
- He is not Jimmy Carter.

a single dominant theme: as the President put it, unfairly, the election involves "a choice between war and peace." Carter, of course, never accused Reagan of wanting a war. But he has exploited a more responsible and highly relevant question: Would Reagan's policies run a higher risk of war?

The success of the Carter strategists in putting Reagan on the defensive on this question is based on two undeniable facts: 1) Despite a series of hot spots around the world during the Carter presidency, no U.S. soldiers have been involved in combat (though they were prepared to fight in the aborted hostage rescue raid into Iran), and 2) Reagan has in recent years repeatedly recommended the use of American military force in various foreign situations. For example, he suggested a U.S. naval blockade of Cuba in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and said that U.S. soldiers could have been used to ensure an orderly transition to black majority rule in Rhodesia in 1976.

Reagan firmly believes not only that the Soviet Union seeks world domination but that every time the Carter Administration has failed to respond with a show of force, the Kremlin has been encouraged to push on. Ignoring the irrationality of Iran's leadership, Reagan suggests that no American hostages would have been seized if the U.S. had been seen as more powerful. It is certainly true that the Carter Administration has conveyed a sense of meekness and vacillation in its failure to project power abroad. Reagan in the White House would undoubtedly try to be more consistent in foreign policy and more given to international power politics (which should not be a dirty word). He would reduce Carter's moralistic emphasis on human rights, using that cause as propaganda against Communist countries, but not employ it to belabor U.S. allies, even if their regimes are dictatorial.

The potential risk of a Reagan foreign policy probably is not so much outright belligerence as his tendency to divide the world into good guys and bad guys. He seems to underestimate the complexity of Third World countries, where not all revolutionary movements are necessarily pro-Soviet or permanently anti-American. Evenhandedness in delicate trouble spots—of the sort that enabled Carter to bring about the Camp David accords—does not seem much in Reagan's character. His one-sided defense of the Israeli position, to the extent that it is more than campaign rhetoric, leaves him little credibility in the Arab world.

Voters weighing the risks to peace in a Reagan presidency will need to consider two related questions. Will a candidate who has sounded so belligerent actually act that way when he faces the real, rather than the hypothetical powers of the presidency? There is no way to be sure. Lyndon Johnson campaigned as a relative dove—and wound up vastly escalating U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. On the other hand, Dwight Eisenhower, a war leader, was extremely cautious as President about the use of military power and even warned about the insidious influence of a "military-industrial complex," which Reagan now considers no danger at all. But Reagan's own policies as Governor of California certainly turned out to be far more moderate than his campaign for the office had suggested.

Second, would Reagan as President surround himself with a range of advisers who would temper his hawkish tendencies? The evidence is otherwise. His task forces drawing up foreign policy options include such hawkish advisers as William Van Cleave, a defense expert from the University of Southern California; Edward Luttwak, a leading theoretician of the right; and Richard Pipes, a Harvard history professor who is strongly anti-Soviet. Of late, he has been advised by more experienced and moderate voices as well, Henry Kissinger being a noteworthy example. But there is little doubt that Reagan would use U.S. military power abroad more aggressively than Carter. On balance, Reagan's greatest appeal in the foreign policy field lies in the fact that, despite the risks represented by inexperience and simplicity of approach, he would bring a fresh start after Carter's failures and confusions.

For a time, the widespread fear of Reagan's views and the disappointment with Carter's performance left an opening for a third choice, and Independent John Anderson tried to fill the gap. He established a number of courageously different and unpopular stands on a variety of highly specific issues. Anderson rejected tax cuts on the ground that they fuel inflation, insisted that energy independence without mandatory and painful conservation by Americans was "an illusion," and argued that the U.S. needed far stronger conventional forces more than it needed the MX missile. But Anderson's "new realism" failed to stake out any contrasting central philosophy that would make many voters want to abandon the major parties. At most, Anderson now offers a chance for voters to protest against the system by which the two other candidates were chosen. The dilemma of having to decide between Carter and Reagan as cynically posed by *New York* magazine writer Michael Kramer: "We can either stick with the mediocrity we already know, or we can follow Mae West's advice that as between two evils we should always choose the one we haven't tried."

The underlying campaign issue between the known Carter and the still relatively unknown Reagan is the matter of competence and the ability to lead the nation. Carter has demonstrated repeatedly that he cannot inspire a commanding national majority, much less a divided Democratic Congress, to follow him on those infrequent occasions when he has tried to lead boldly. Carter was probably as eloquent and as persuasive as he can be in his early plea for waging a war on the energy problem, but nothing much happened until after three more years of U.S. dependence on foreign oil. Perhaps it is the soft delivery, often smothering strong lines. Perhaps there is a subconscious lingering national prejudice against Carter's Southern style. Whatever the handicap, Carter's words carry no command, even when the need to follow seems clear.

Reflecting the mood, a mixed reception for Reagan in Louisville

Hoping the voters would follow Mae West's advice.

As his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention showed again, Reagan can stir emotions. While much of his earlier reputation for rousing performances was built as he dazzled conservative audiences with those zinging one-liners they loved to hear, he at least offers greater hope that, when the nation needed to be aroused, there would be a President who could do it.

Carter has different skills. He is more nimble, mentally and verbally, than Reagan when confronted with an unexpected question or when his memory of governmental detail is suddenly tested. His impromptu replies may be the clearest and most carefully couched of any recent President's—a comforting quality in an office where offhand remarks can rattle the world. But Carter's mental agility does not necessarily mean he is the wiser man. His mind readily grasps detail, orders the options and focuses down on a solution to a given problem. But it often fails to place that problem, or its solution, in a broader context.

Reagan, on the other hand, seems often to rely more on intuition than thought.

Rather than getting bogged down with detail, he has advisers examine a problem, then present courses of action for him to consider. More by instinct than analysis, Reagan then is likely to make a quick decision. The decision for voters may rest on whether they trust Reagan's instincts and particular vision more than they do Carter's more rational, but narrow, thinking.

Once they have made a decision, both Carter and Reagan tend to consider the matter solved. Rather than wheel, deal and fight to put their solutions into effect, each likes to move on to the next problem. Washington does not work that way. Carter shows signs of having learned this lesson; Reagan would have to change his one-step-at-a-time habits to be effective in the Oval Office.

Both candidates also have a similar dislike for commotion around them, hate to discipline errant aides or, in fact, to deal with touchy personnel problems. Yet the White House is no place in which to seek serenity or avoid the inevitable friction of strong personalities grasping for power. Carter has depended too heavily on his Georgia cronies, failing to cut some of his ties with, say, Bert Lance or Andrew Young as early as he should have. He pledged, as all new Presidents do, to reach out for strong men to direct Cabinet departments—and then, in effect, fired several (including Joseph Califano at Health, Education and Welfare and W. Michael Blumenthal at Treasury) when they became cantankerously independent, upsetting the harmony he values and the sense of loyalty he demands.

But there is a significant personality difference between the two men. Reagan's ego seems to get much less entangled with his policies than does Carter's. Despite his ability to convey feeling, Reagan rarely loses his temper or carries a personal grudge. He is not emotional or vindictive. Those qualities could prove valuable in the rough give-and-take of official Washington.

Last week, speaking to an exuberant crowd gathered around the steps of the federal courthouse in Texarkana, Texas, Jimmy Carter declared, "There is a great difference between myself and Governor Reagan. There is a great difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. But what we're talking about in this election, as the last days draw to a close, is the difference in the futures we will have."

Perhaps the greatest failing of Carter and Reagan during this drawn-out campaign is that they have not been able to persuade Americans of their competence to occupy the presidency. In addition, they have been unable to describe the differences between themselves with enough clarity so that Americans would choose their future on Nov. 4 with enthusiasm and a confidence that they knew what lay ahead. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and Christopher Ogden with Carter*

Danger: Killing SALT Forever

The SALT II treaty has been in legislative limbo since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan last December, but in the past week its fate has become one of the most heated and important disagreements between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Carter wants to save the treaty, Reagan wants to kill it. As TIME *Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott reports, the issue has grave implications:*

There is a political and historical irony in the positions of the two candidates on SALT II. Reagan proposes to scrap the present treaty and reopen negotiations with the Kremlin. His goal: a new agreement that would substantially reduce the Soviet arsenal of intercontinental missiles and thus blunt the danger of a surprise attack against the American rockets. Reagan hopes to induce the Soviets to go back to the bargaining table by threatening a new arms race.

In its broad outlines, Reagan's plan is almost identical to Carter's at the beginning of his presidency in 1977. Carter had inherited from Gerald Ford a SALT II agreement that was nearly complete, but Carter wanted something better, a "real arms control" treaty of his own that would roll back, rather than merely slow down, the Soviet weapons program.

Carter then, like Reagan now, wanted to protect U.S. missiles against the theoretical possibility of a Soviet pre-emptive strike. Carter then, like Reagan now, told the Kremlin, in effect, either make more concessions or face new and bigger U.S. missiles.

ARTHUR GRACE

Signing SALT II treaty with Brezhnev at Vienna in 1979

The Soviet leadership threw Carter's "comprehensive" proposal right back in his face; his ill-considered initial approach to the Soviets was one of Carter's major foreign policy mistakes. The SALT II treaty he ended up signing with Leonid Brezhnev in 1979 was based largely on the deal that Ford had struck with Brezhnev three years before, although the final agreement did contain some advantages for the U.S.

Carter rightly calls Reagan naive for thinking the Soviets can be intimidated into accepting deep cuts in their existing arsenal by the threat of a future U.S. buildup. But were it not for Carter's own similar naiveté four years ago, SALT II would almost certainly have been signed—and ratified—early in his Administration, long before its passage was "linked" to Soviet behavior in Cuba and Afghanistan. Such linkage was always dubious, since SALT benefits both sides.

When Carter made his false step with SALT II early in 1977, the SALT I interim agreement on offensive weapons still had seven months to run. Since then, the superpowers have been adhering to SALT I even after it expired, and to the main provisions of SALT II even though it remains unratified.

But SALT may well die in the coming months. The Soviets are unlikely to renegotiate the treaty. Despite the far greater vigor and efficiency of the U.S. economy, the Soviet political system is better prepared for the arms race Reagan is threatening. The Kremlin leaders need not worry as much about public opinion or democratic procedures; they can quickly decide to produce even more guns and less butter. Before the U.S. could even muster the domestic political consensus and the vast expenditures necessary for such a race, an exceedingly difficult challenge in itself, the Soviets could increase both the number of their missiles that have multiple warheads and the number of warheads per missile. They could —and probably would—do so simply by accelerating programs that are now being held in check by SALT. This spurt in Soviet warheads would not only bury SALT, probably forever, but would also compound the "vulnerability" of American missiles. That dismal prospect has converted the Joint Chiefs of Staff, never SALT enthusiasts, into lobbyists for the ratification of the pending treaty.

Even if Carter is re-elected, a number of key pro-SALT Senators may not be. Despite a post-election rescue attempt by Carter, the Senate still may end up pulling the plug on a negotiating process that is at least as important to the U.S. as it is to the Soviet Union.

Right Now: a Dead Heat

A TIME *poll shows the slightest shift could swing the election*

They have barnstormed the country like jet-age traveling salesmen. They have jammed the airwaves with millions of dollars' worth of advertising. They have attacked each other's records ceaselessly. Their families and friends and surrogates have added their voices to the din of denunciation and promotion. Yet on the very threshold of the presidential election of 1980, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan remain just where they were at the beginning of their long campaign—locked in a virtual tie among registered voters in the U.S.

According to a survey for TIME completed last week by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., Carter has an insignificant 1-point lead over Reagan, 42% to 41%, compared with a 39% to 39% tie at the beginning of the fall campaign. The independent candidacy of Congressman John Anderson, however, has continued to sink, just as so many political experts in both parties predicted it would from the start. His share of the vote dropped from 15% in early September to 12% now.*

The mood of the electorate remains as it was at the beginning of the presidential campaign. Americans are disappointed by the choice of candidates they are offered, concerned about the many serious problems facing the country, and skeptical that any President can make much difference. They long for a change, yet are fearful of taking a chance on an inexperienced President.

Much of the avowed support for the candidates is still based on opposition to their opponents rather than on genuine enthusiasm for one man or another. Forty-three percent of Reagan's voters indicate they are more interested in voting against Carter than for Reagan. The President does not fare much better. Thirty-seven percent of Carter's supporters say they are really just anti-Reagan.

Even after having chosen Carter or Reagan, more than half of the voters say they have reservations about the abilities of their candidate. And the level of deeply committed support is extremely low; few cowbells are being rung at rallies throughout the land this fall. Sixty-one percent of the voters admit being unmoved by anyone in the race. Although this remains a somewhat grim and unhappy election, the fact that the decision will at long last be reached next week has heightened national attention and made even more important the presidential debate this week. Slowly, quietly, the patterns are changing. The poll indicates that President Carter is reclaiming traditional Democratic support. He is now backed by 66% of the Democrats, compared with the 59% who were for him in September. Most of this new strength comes from party members who had once defected to Anderson but who have come home to their party's nominee. Anderson now claims 9% of Democrats; in September he had 15%. Carter is also slowly getting the better of Reagan on some key political issues.

Most important, perhaps, is that Carter has emerged virtually unscathed from Reagan's relentless assault on his economic record, which was the Governor's prime point of attack. People still feel that inflation is the chief national problem; Reagan has been unable to convince voters that he could cope with it much better than Carter. Concern about unemployment, a threat for any incumbent, especially one who is a Democrat, has declined and more voters (35% compared with 32% in September) now feel the nation's economy will improve during the next few months.

Weighing all factors, voter confidence in Carter's ability to handle the economy has increased enough during the past two months to allow him to overcome Governor Reagan's lead on that issue. In early September Reagan won the confidence of 66% of the electorate for his ability to run the economy; 57% said they had similar faith in Carter. Now 69% of those surveyed express confidence in Carter and only 56% in Reagan.

At the same time, Carter has eliminated Reagan's lead on the issue of foreign affairs. Sixty-two percent say they have confidence in Carter on this point; 61% feel that way about Reagan. Carter is not being helped by the war between Iraq and Iran and the threat to stability in the gulf region; 60% of the voters say the conflict is no reason not to dump the incumbent. What does seem to be boosting Carter, however, is the fact that 46% of those surveyed believe Reagan might be "trigger happy," and 57% favor Carter as the candidate they "trust more not to overreact in times of crisis." Only 32% would feel safer with Reagan.

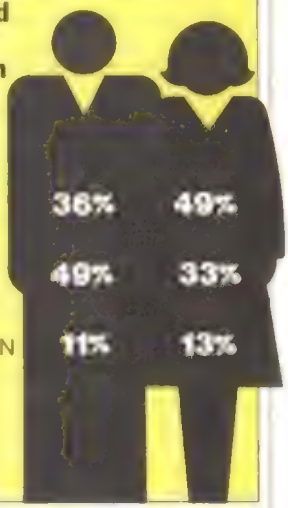
Thus the Carter camp's assault on Reagan as being a warmonger has achieved its purpose, although the advantage was gained at some cost to the President. Most voters (52%) say they think Carter has spent his time "smearing the other candidates" rather than "conducting a straightforward campaign" (45%). Reagan, on the other hand, is given more credit for positive campaigning (54%).

Despite the tightness of the race between Carter and Reagan, the poll suggests that the President has more

*The study was based on a national sample of 1,632 registered voters interviewed from Oct. 14 to 16. The sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points, and 4.5 percentage points when compared with previous TIME studies

THE SEXES

"If the presidential election were held today, for whom would you vote?"



CARTER	36%	49%
REAGAN	49%	33%
ANDERSON	11%	13%

THE ISSUES

How much confidence do you have in each candidate when it comes to . . .

The Economy?

	A LOT/SOME	NONE
CARTER	69%	31%
REAGAN	56%	44%
ANDERSON	55%	45%

Foreign Affairs?

	A LOT/SOME	NONE
CARTER	62%	38%
REAGAN	61%	39%
ANDERSON	53%	47%

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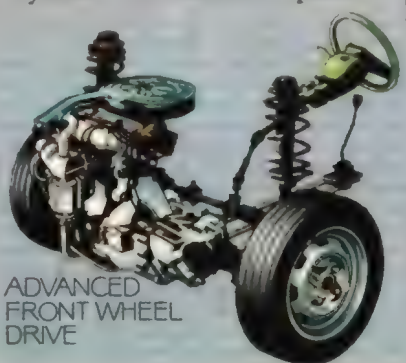
In a world of good economy cars, Mazda now announces a *great* one. The all-new 1981 Mazda GLC was conceived, engineered and built to be nothing less than the new state of the art in front-wheel-drive technology. And signals important new advances in what you can expect—and should look for—in a car of this class.

Starting with the basic concepts and inherent advantages of the transverse-engine, front-wheel-drive configuration, Mazda engineers have redesigned, re-engineered and refined many major component areas. Like a more powerful yet more economical 1.5 litre engine. Advanced 4-wheel independent suspension. And a redesigned rack-and-pinion steering system. The result is a sophisticated, high-quality front-wheel-drive car that may surprise you. Especially if you've driven others.



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The all-new GLC is fun to drive. The steering is light and precise. The shifting is quick and positive. The turning diameter is one of the shortest around. And the interior is one of the roomiest in its class. In fact, this new GLC is actually bigger, faster, lighter, more aerodynamic and quieter than its predecessor. Yet, importantly, it also offers substantially increased gas mileage!

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1981 Mazda GLC Custom $5095**

*EPA estimates for comparison purposes for GLC Custom 3-door with 4-speed transmission. Your mileage may vary with trip length, speed and weather. Actual highway mileage will probably be less.
**Manufacturer's suggested retail price for GLC Custom 3-door Hatchback. Actual prices set by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, options and other dealer charges extra. Prices may change without notice. Availability at dealers of vehicles with specific features may vary.

mazda

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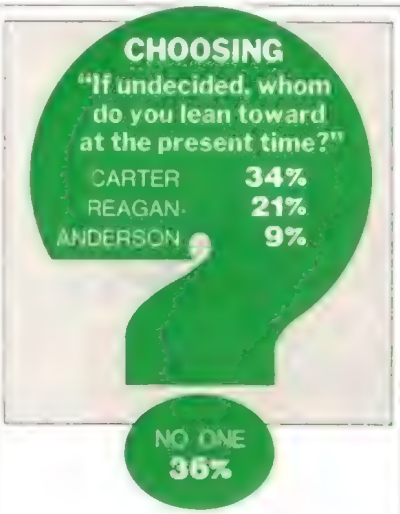


to gain in the closing days of the campaign than the Governor. The 13% of the sample who say they are unsure how they will vote acknowledge, when pressed, that they are leaning more toward Carter than Reagan (34% to 21%). Five percent of the total remain truly undecided. Carter's early advantage among women voters has widened slightly (49% to 33%) just as Reagan's advantage among men has grown (49% to 36%). Women fear mainly that Reagan would be too belligerent as President. Males and females feel much the same about two other issues that generally hurt Reagan. On the question of the pending Equal Rights Amendment, 61% of men and 59% of women are in favor of the measure; 56% of men and 55% of women are against an amendment banning abortions. Interestingly, nearly a third of Reagan's supporters believe, mistakenly, that their candidate is pro-ERA.

Considering the key industrial states as a whole (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania), Carter leads by a larger margin (43% to 36%) than he did in September (39% to 36%). One partial explanation may be that Catholics have shifted toward the President (43% favor him now, compared with 38% last month). On the other hand, however, Reagan is now even with Carter among blue-collar workers, whereas Carter led by 10 points in September. The race in the heavily populated industrial regions remains extremely close. The shift of very few percentage points would swing not only those states but the election as well.

Part of Carter's gain is coming from voters who are deserting Independent Anderson. The TIME survey indicates that those who still support Anderson will vote nearly 3 to 2 for Carter if they abandon the Congressman from Illinois. Failing to seize the middle ground on issues and ideology, Anderson is identified by the electorate as being the most liberal of the three candidates. It is also clear that Anderson has been unable to make much of an impression on voters; more than half say they simply do not know his stands on specific issues.

But Reagan still leads substantially in state-by-state electoral vote estimates, because in many ways he appeals more strongly to voters than Carter. More voters say they are excited about Reagan than Carter, for example, and this difference in hard-core support could be important in an election that could swing by a tiny margin.

Voters have also changed their minds about who is more likely to triumph. Despite the fact that those surveyed rank Carter even with Reagan, they now anticipate that Reagan has a better chance of winning than Carter (48% for Reagan *vs.* 44% for Carter), a reversal of the expectation in September when half thought Carter would win and 42% guessed Reagan.

Reagan has also slightly widened his margin among independent voters, leading Carter 41% to 33%. Among young voters, Reagan is now favored, 42% to 36%. One of the most remarkable findings of the poll is that Anderson, for all his appeal on college campuses, is backed by only 14% of the young. Among voters over age 65, Carter and Reagan are tied.

In the South, Reagan is ahead, 46% to 43%, and thus threatens to crack Carter's 1976 electoral stronghold in his home region. The Governor, who has long been popular in some sections of the South, is being helped by the votes of white Protestants (51% to 39%), who favor him mainly because of his well-known conservative views and partly because of his alliance with television-era fundamentalist preachers.

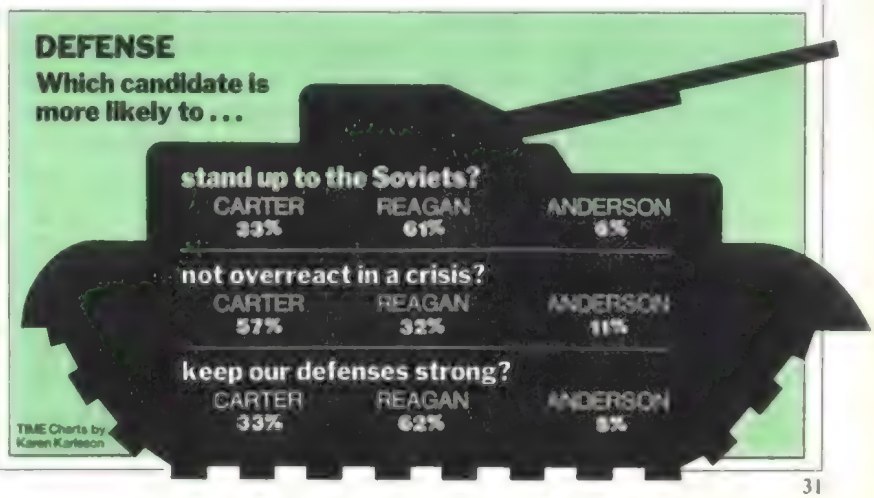
The major campaign and advertising effort to convince voters that Reagan compiled a good record as Governor of California has apparently succeeded: 56% of his supporters say that is an important reason for backing him. Reagan is also profiting heavily from a feeling that it is simply "time for a change," a point cited by 85% of his supporters.

Reagan continues to project an image as a President with the determination to "stand up to the Russians" more forcefully than Carter. The Governor is generally viewed as a man who would bring better people into Government than the President; who would have done more to get the hostages out of Iran; who would keep U.S. defenses strong; who would "make Americans feel good about themselves"; and who would do more to decrease U.S dependence on foreign oil. He is also widely identified as being in favor of an immediate tax cut, a position approved of by 64% of all voters.

In small ways, there are signs that both major contenders are achieving a degree of acceptance among voters. The sharply negative judgments about Carter's presidency are softening: 55% of those surveyed think Carter is actually a better President than he is given credit for. Reagan, on the other hand, has managed to overcome to some degree the inherent doubts many voters have about any challenger's ability to be President. Fifty-four percent of those surveyed say Reagan has shown presidential stature by the way he has been conducting his campaign.

Although there is a small drift toward Carter, the race quite clearly is virtually even. The key variable may be the degree of turnout among the supporters of the two candidates, which the Yankelovich survey makes no attempt to predict. But the poll did ask whether voters were looking forward to Election Day or whether they wished they did not have to make any choice at all. Thirty percent say they would rather avoid making a selection. That figure, moreover, rises to 55% among the undecided, the very group now tending toward President Carter. What is more, fully one-third of minority group voters who are heavily for Carter share this lingering reluctance to vote. And it will be these reluctant voters who are likely to make up their minds, once and for all, only in the final hours of the campaign. They will decide which man will win the White House.

—By John F. Stacks



Improving Chemical Product Safety

What we're doing to minimize risks to people's health and the environment

America's chemical industry invests millions of dollars each year to make our products as safe as we can. For example, we're building new test facilities and using new, highly sophisticated research equipment. When necessary, we're also searching for alternatives. Still, we're not satisfied. Here's how we're trying to do a better job:

1. Funding an independent test facility

To supplement their own toxicology laboratories, 35 chemical companies have joined to create the Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology (CIIT), a $14 million research facility at Research Triangle Park, near Raleigh, North Carolina. The purpose: to develop and use more reliable methods to assess the possible effects of chemicals on people and the environment. The institute has total operating independence. It also operates non-profit and is the first facility of its kind in the world.

CIIT's efforts focus on three mutually supportive areas: testing, research and professional training. At present, CIIT is conducting research on the most commonly used chemicals, evaluating them by today's more stringent standards. Information developed by the institute is provided openly and simultaneously to the entire chemical industry, the government and the public. We believe this underscores our entire industry's commitment to making sure our products meet—or exceed—today's exacting health and safety standards.

2. Increasing on-site research

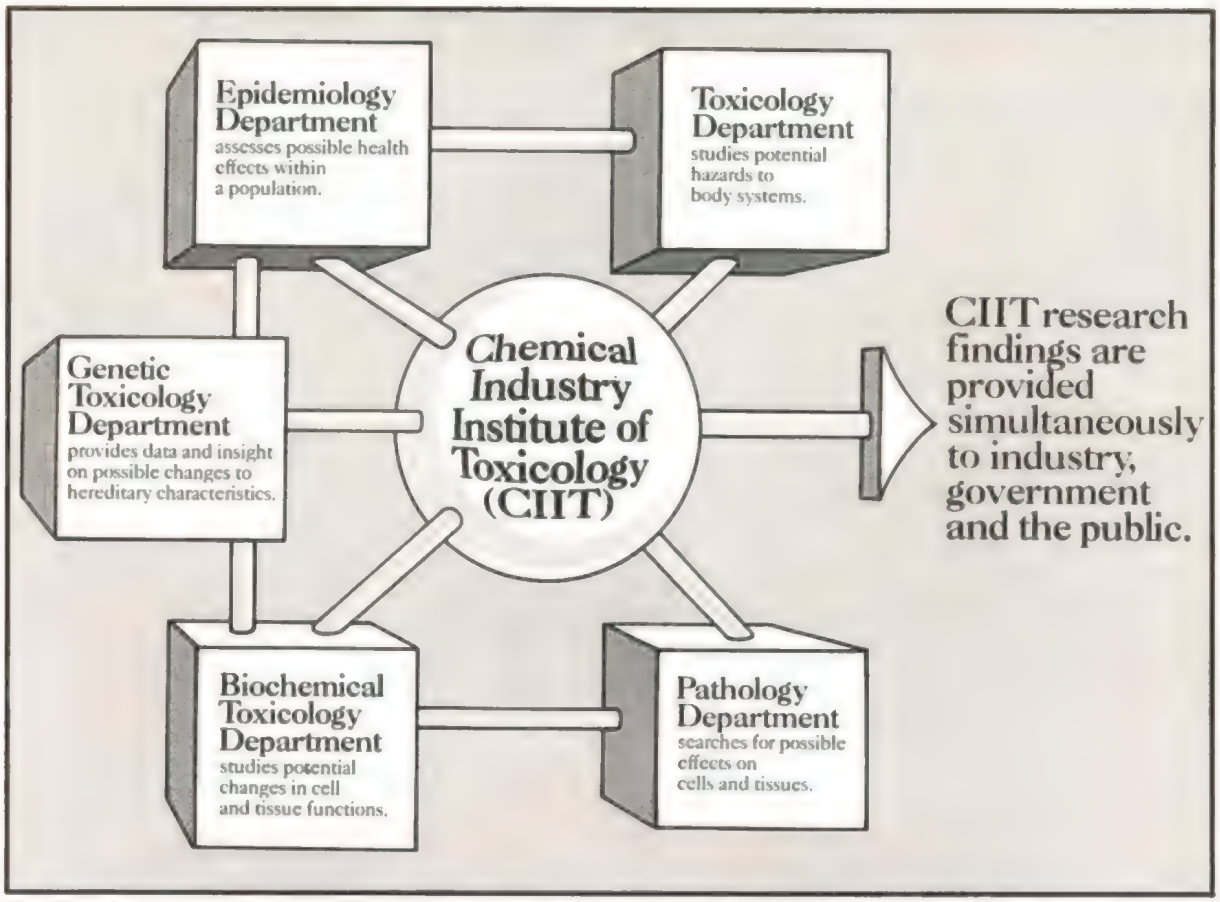
Seven major chemical companies already have multimillion dollar toxicological laboratories as large as, or larger than, the CIIT facilities. Other chemical companies are opening new research and testing laboratories and adding to existing research facilities. These facilities help companies develop the fullest body of knowledge about their own products should questions ever arise about their proper use, handling characteristics and overall safety.

3. Finding safer new chemicals and products

When scientific information casts suspicion on the safety of a chemical substance, we search for safer alternatives and develop safeguards. For example, we helped in the development of biodegradable detergents to replace ordinary detergents that created environmental problems. Another example: cellulose acetate film was developed to eliminate the extreme fire hazard that was posed by nitrocellulose film.

4. Improving detection methods

Steady, sometimes dramatic improvements in scientific measurement techniques and



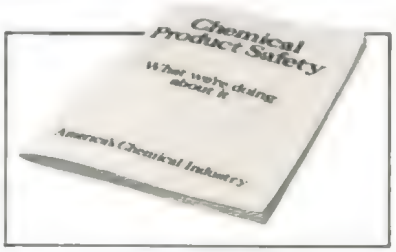
The Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology, an independent research facility funded by members of the chemical industry, conducts research and testing on commonly used chemicals to help protect people's health and the environment.

equipment have brought about a million-fold increase in our ability to analyze chemicals. One instrument, the gas chromatograph-mass spectrometer, for example, helps us detect materials at levels as low as one part per trillion—equal to one grain in an 18-foot layer of sand covering a football field.

5. Expanding the flow of safety information

Many member companies of the Chemical Manufacturers Association prepare Material Safety Data Sheets on chemicals and chemical products. These sheets, introduced as a voluntary effort by our industry nearly 50 years ago, are designed to give technical people, plant workers and down-stream processors data to help them safely handle chemical substances. The sheets include information on safe handling techniques, appropriate storage and possible hazards, along with health and emergency instructions in case of chemical accidents.

What you've read here is just an overview. For a booklet that tells more about what we're doing to improve chemical product safety, write to: Chemical Manufacturers Association, Dept. FT-10, Box 363, Beltsville, Md. 20705.



America's Chemical Industry

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Best of a Bad Bargain

Slowly, resentfully, the "undecideds" make up their minds

CAMPAIGN 80

As Election Day approaches, millions of Americans are still struggling to decide which of the three major candidates is the least objectionable and hence should get their reluctant vote. TIME *National Political Correspondent John Stacks sought out more than a dozen people in the key state of Pennsylvania, all previously identified by a Yankelovich poll in late August as being "undecided," and asked them to describe how they were coming along in making up their minds. His report:*

Harry McKee is a sales manager for Westinghouse who lives in a comfortable suburb of Pittsburgh. Considering himself to be a moderate Republican, he voted for George Bush in the Republican primary this year and for Jerry Ford in the 1976 election. But he was not distressed by Carter's victory then. Says he: "I kind of liked Carter's maverick approach. He sounded so sincere."

He feels different now, and his voice rises slightly as he denounces the President: "I just get a feeling of incompetence from him and his people. Take the U.N. vote [opposing Israel's settlements, for which Carter later apologized]. It made America look so foolish. I feel we're just muddling along." But he is also troubled by Reagan. "I don't get the feeling that Reagan is a real intelligent man, and that worries me."

McKee

For a time, McKee's solution was John Anderson. "I have admiration for him. He's the best candidate. He's refreshing and outspoken." Like others who have drifted away from Anderson, however, McKee is afraid that the independent cannot win. Says he: "If I was in a vacuum, if I didn't know about the polls, I'd go ahead and vote for him. But I feel so strongly that I want to lock Carter out, that if I have to vote for Reagan, that's what I'll do. But I'm still basically undecided. I feel I have worse choices this year than ever before."

Pat Murrin, a truck driver who has been without steady work for nearly a year, lives near McKee. Despite his job problems, he is sticking with Carter "even though he loused up the economy." Says Murrin: "I think the presidency is overrated. It's like a quarterback who gets all the glory but without the rest of the team he can't do it."

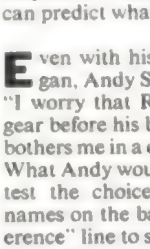
John and Martha Hook live 29 miles north of Pittsburgh in the small industrial town of Butler, where he works as a radio station engineer. They have been registered Democrats all their lives and both voted for Carter in 1976 because, in John's words, "Ford pardoned Nixon." But they feel let down by the President. Says Martha: "It takes every penny we have for food and the doctor." The hostage issue rankles with John: "Carter should have had them out of there right away." And Carter has compounded his problem with the Hooks by his campaign tactics. Says Martha: "It's bad when you have to get ahead by criticizing the other candidates." Echoes her husband: "We all know how bad things are in the country. We need to know what they're going to *do* about it."

Hook

But for the Hooks, Reagan is not acceptable. Says John: "I'm afraid he'll get us into a hell of a war. At least with Carter, we're living —not too good, but we're living." Resignedly, they will probably stick with the President. Says Martha: "I guess we'll try to vote for the one who'll do the least damage to the country. I'm afraid of Reagan."

Andrew and Karen Sefcik are living in a trailer park and trying desperately to create some financial stability for themselves. Andrew has been out of work for more than a year, but has just started training, under a federal grant, as a nurse. He considered Anderson briefly, but concludes: "I'm for Reagan because he's not Carter. With Carter's record, it's amazing he's even a viable candidate. The only reason people will vote for Carter is that they know what they're in for and they can predict what he can and can't do."

Even with his mind made up for Reagan, Andy Sefcik isn't happy. Says he: "I worry that Reagan puts his mouth in gear before his brain is running. And that bothers me in a delicate foreign situation." What Andy would like is some way to protest the choices. After the candidates' names on the ballot, he'd like a "no preference" line to show his despair about the choices. Says he: "What we need now is a *President*. What we really need is a *leader*."


Chessler

Like their counterparts in western Pennsylvania, Philadelphians were deciding mostly for Reagan and Carter and dismissing Anderson because he can't win. But they were choosing not out of enthusiasm, but on the basis of negative feelings. Arnold Chessler, a 48-year-old manufacturer of women's accessories in Philadelphia, voted for Carter in 1976, but concludes that the past four years "have been really depressing." Despite grave reservations, he will back Reagan because "it can't get any worse."

Haughton

Sam Segal, a jewelry salesman, voted for Carter "to get the Watergate crowd out of there." But he was distressed by the U.N. vote. "A President doesn't make a mistake like that," he says. He is leaning toward Reagan because "Carter can't make a decisive decision."

But some voters are too fed up with Carter and Reagan to back either. Thomas Haughton, who works for the Internal Revenue Service in Philadelphia, has ten children from two marriages. In 1976 he voted for Carter because "I thought he was a dream, like the Kennedy dream." Now he will vote for Anderson. Says Haughton: "They say about him being a spoiler. He could win. He could make Reagan lose. He could make Carter lose. It could go to the House of Representatives. It's all right with me. It's getting so that since Truman these Presidents don't do a damn thing. Maybe there's nothing can be done. I always believed in the American dream. But it's not happening. I don't think the President controls the country. On that Iran raid, I could have got a gang here in South Philadelphia and done better than that."

Mark Blank, a retired professor of philosophy now living in the Philadelphia suburb of Jenkintown, has already cast an absentee ballot since he is planning a trip to Europe. A liberal Democrat all his life, Blank voted for Anderson. He has only disdain for Carter: "The fact that by comparison Jerry Ford has been elevated to the rank of elder statesman is sufficient reason to vote against Carter." Of Reagan, Blank says: "His economics are incomprehensible. I am a hostage to the future in the person of my grandson, and Reagan's urgings that we be No.1 in arms means only an accelerated arms race. He's shallow, superficial, and frightening in that respect."

Blank

His vote for Anderson, says Blank, "is essentially a rebuke to the two parties." Still, he is troubled. He fears that votes for Anderson will elect Reagan. Says Blank: "I guess I'm counting on the fact that the Government will be too paralyzed to be dangerous under Reagan. I think it's horrible that we're put in the position that whatever we do we feel we're making the wrong decision." ■

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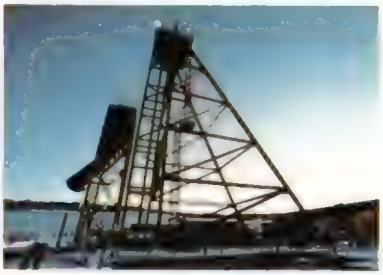

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Praising with Faint Damns

Most foreign leaders prefer Carter—but reluctantly

During the 1972 presidential campaign several Italian newspapers suggested that choosing the leader of the West was too important a decision to be left only to Americans. It is a notion that world leaders would eagerly endorse this year. Although they are discreetly keeping their feelings to themselves, they are watching the 1980 campaign with varying degrees of disdain and dismay. In general, they like none of the three candidates, though most would reluctantly cast their ballots for Jimmy Carter. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt expressed one major reason when he told aides, "At least I have got more or less used to Carter." But local and regional considerations also play a role, both for leaders who favor the incumbent and for the few who support Ronald Reagan:

Soviet Union. The government newspaper *Izvestiya* describes the differences between Carter and Reagan as "rather dubious." But the Kremlin's U.S. specialists favor Carter, chiefly because he supports SALT II, which Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev regards as one of his major accomplishments. The Soviets also believe that Carter is more reasonable than Reagan and perhaps more amenable to relaxing East-West tensions. The satellites generally agree. Says an East German diplomat: "Everybody's afraid of Reagan."

Western Europe. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher likes Carter personally and thinks he should be given more credit for his handling of the crises in Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf and Poland. But she is an exception. Most NATO leaders still consider Carter naive and inconsistent. On the other hand, they fear that Reagan's opposition to SALT II could threaten détente and start a new cold war—with them in the middle. Even in France, which traditionally prefers Republican Presidents because, in French eyes, their foreign policy seems more disciplined, the G.O.P. contender is known as *"Ronnie-le-cowboy."*

Western Europe's apprehensions about Reagan are tempered by the hope that his foreign policy might be set largely by his Cabinet. Many Europeans would be delighted if Reagan named Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State, former NATO Commander Alexander Haig as Defense Secretary and George Schulz as Treasury Secretary. In that case, Schmidt has told aides, "Reagan would not be all that bad."

Middle East. One group of top Israeli officials argues that Carter, despite his tilt toward Egypt in the peace talks, is at least a known quantity. Says a government official: "We do not know what Reagan is going to say or what he is going to do if he becomes President." But other Israelis maintain that Carter is too unpredictable and that Reagan would at least conduct a tough Soviet policy, which the Israelis advocate. Egyptian officials speculate that if Carter got a second term, he would be free from re-election considerations and more willing to push Israel harder to grant meaningful autonomy to the Palestinians. The Egyptians fear Reagan would side so strongly with Israel that the peace process would collapse.

Leaders of Arab oil-exporting states apprehensively recall that one of Reagan's advisers, Robert Tucker, a foreign policy specialist at Johns Hopkins University, sketched in *Commentary* in 1975 a hypothetical U.S. strategy for seizing the Arab oilfields. On the other side of the Persian Gulf, Iran's leaders are divided. President Abolhassan Banisadr's faction considers Carter preferable to Reagan, but Banisadr's clerical rivals contend that "both are tools of imperialism."

Africa. Because of his Administration's strong backing for majority rule in southern Africa, most black leaders favor Carter. They widely share Nigerian Minister of External Affairs Ishaya Audu's apprehension that a Reagan victory would "slow down the momentum of liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa for some time." Black Africans also fear that Reagan would ease U.S. pressure on South Africa over apartheid.

Asia. China would prefer to continue dealing with Carter, essentially because he was responsible for normalizing diplomatic relations and because of Reagan's statements about strengthening U.S. ties with Taiwan. By contrast, Taiwan's leaders believe that Reagan would be more willing than Carter to sell them advanced fighter aircraft and less tempted to pressure them into negotiating with the mainland on reunification.

Japan is content with Carter, largely because officials are afraid that Reagan would set tougher limits on their exports to the U.S. Reagan Adviser Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution, dismayed some Japanese by suggesting last week in Tokyo that Japan take a more active military role to protect its oil shipments from the Persian Gulf. But two other U.S. Asian allies, Thailand and the Philippines, lean toward Reagan. In the Philippines, says a local political analyst, the government of Ferdinand Marcos feels "Reagan would support any regime, regardless of whether or not it is repressive, so long as it backs America."

The Americas. Canada and Mexico would prefer a Carter victory; they are apprehensive about Reagan. Both regard his vague proposal for a North American common market as a thin disguise for a U.S. attempt to grab their oil, gas and other natural resources. Leftist leaders in Latin America fear that Reagan might bring back big-stick diplomacy. But the continent's right-wing dictators are rooting for Reagan; they think he would soften Carter's human rights policy. Says a high-ranking Argentine military officer: "We want to be treated as allies, not enemies."

On the whole, world leaders are far from enthusiastic about the choice being offered Americans. Like many U.S. voters, they blame it on the primary system. Says a top-ranking official in Bonn's Chancellery: "What seems to matter is who has the most money and the most physical endurance. Political talent and sophistication play a very small part. If they played a larger role, the contest would be between top quality people." —*By Ellie McGrath*

Clockwise: Thatcher, Schmidt, Marcos and Brezhnev

"What matters is who has the most money and endurance."

The Senate: Issues on the Sidelines

The Senate candidates in Florida have such similar views on the issues that voters are left with mostly a choice between personalities. Similarly, in Indiana the Senate contest revolves around the question How many years in Washington are too many? Among House incumbents, a liberal Democrat has run into trouble in Texas, and a conservative Republican is being hard-pressed in California

Consumer Report in Florida

The Democrat is a man, the Republican is a woman, but there ends the major difference between the contestants for the Florida Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Richard Stone. William Gunter, 46, who sank Stone in a primary runoff, has been a strong consumer advocate as state insurance commissioner since 1976. He ordered auto insurance companies to cut their premiums by more than $125 million. Republican Nominee Paula Hawkins, 53, earned a similar reputation as a member of the state's public service commission from 1972 to 1978 by voting against utility rate increases.

The two also resemble each other in personality. Gunter is feisty and blunt.

Gunter pledges to improve Medicare

During her years on the commission, Hawkins was a tart-tongued, self-styled "fighter," though she preferred to describe herself as a "Maitland housewife." But as accustomed as they are to a good scrap, the two candidates have so far kept the gloves on. Both tirelessly remind voters of their records and promise to focus on pocketbook issues in the Senate. Standing in a drizzle in downtown St. Petersburg last week, Gunter told an elderly crowd that he would fight for improvements in Medicare and for banning all mandatory retirement. The next day, Hawkins, campaigning in brilliant sunshine in Port Saint Joe, promised to seek a Senate investigation to determine whether, as she suspects, the U.S. has sufficient oil reserves for the next 300 years.

They attack each other only indirectly. Gunter has depicted himself as "someone with experience in public office," a thinly veiled reference to Hawkins' lack of legislative experience (Gunter served as a Congressman from 1973 to 1975). Hawkins tells audiences that "I come to this job with clean hands," an equally unsubtle dig at Gunter for accepting donations from insurance agents (Gunter says he limits them to $100 each). Though Gunter expects to raise more money than Hawkins ($1.5 million *vs.* $1 million), she will have outspent him, $500,000 to $350,000, on radio and TV spots during the final weeks of the campaign.

The candidates are running even, with the outcome probably hinging on the retired, mostly Jewish voters in the condominiums of Miami and the rest of southern Florida. In a state that has elected only one Republican to the Senate in this century, Hawkins must persuade these traditional Democrats that she is the better bargain. ■

Memories in Indiana

Liberal Democrat Birch Bayh well remembers Indiana's political history, but contrary to George Santayana, he may still be condemned to repeat it. In 1962, campaigning as a fresh young face, he upset veteran Republican Homer Capehart, then 65, in part because Hoosiers were reluctant to grant the incumbent an unprecedented full fourth term. Now Bayh, 52, is himself running for a fourth term against a moderate Republican opponent, Dan Quayle, whose age (33), experience (four years in Congress) and youthful good looks remind many voters of—guess who? Quayle underscores the resemblance by telling voters that one of Bayh's 1962 campaign themes was: "Eighteen years in Washington is too long."

Quayle repeatedly reminds voters that Indiana's unemployment rate of 12% is second highest in the nation. Campaigning in the steel center of Gary, which has 14% unemployment, he contended that many layoffs have been forced by unreasonable air-quality standards that are supported by Bayh. Though Bayh is one of the Senators marked for defeat by national right-wing organizations, they are having little effect on the race, largely because Quayle has strongly disavowed their support.

Quayle thinks 18 years is enough

The two candidates are equally matched in cash (about $2 million apiece), but Bayh has the more professional staff and is the better stump speaker. Bayh, like other beleaguered liberals, emphasizes his success in getting federal cash for the home folks: for example, $17 million to renovate the statehouse district in Indianapolis. "I've done my share of spending," he admits, in reply to one of Quayle's major attacks. "But if you look at the piece of the pie I've been responsible for—transportation, veterans' programs, Meals-on-Wheels for the elderly—I think that shows responsibility." He attacks Quayle as an ineffective Congressman. Charges Bayh: "He hasn't blocked one regulation or stopped one dollar of federal spending."

The campaign seems a toss-up that could be decided by any of several factors, not the least being Republican-leaning Indiana's complicated voting machines, many of which make ticket splitting difficult. But Bayh's greatest worry is that many Democrats, embittered by economic distress, will stay home this year. ■

Illustrations for TIME by David Levine

The House: Personalities on Stage

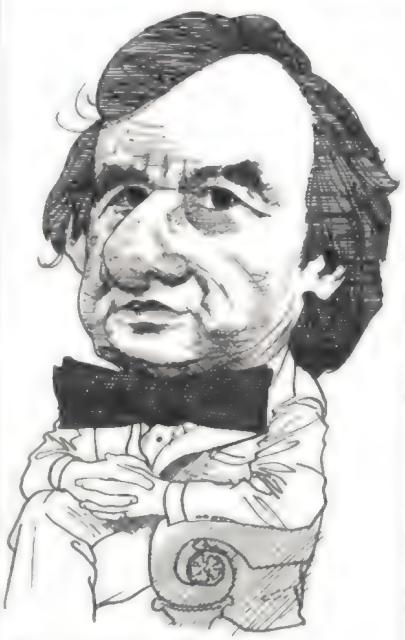
Halloween in Houston

Before the 70 first-graders at Stephens Elementary School north of Houston could perform a Halloween pageant for their families last week, Democratic Congressman Bob Eckhardt and Republican Challenger Jack Fields, 28, put on their own show.

Fields, a vice president of his family's cemetery company, started by declaring: "Eckhardt represents everything that is wrong with this country. He would destroy the free enterprise system and destroy the work ethic." Charged Fields of the seven-term incumbent: "He voted nine times for busing [to desegregate schools]. He voted against the B-1 bomber. He voted for gun control. He voted to give tax dollars to Communist countries."

Eckhardt, 67, looking like a rumpled professor in his tweed suit and bow tie, but sounding like a Southern populist, replied that many of the charges were false. Said he: "I have never voted for a statute that would call for forced busing. I have never been for gun control, and I helped beat registration of rifles and shotguns." He claimed that the campaign ("the dirtiest I've ever encountered") was the work of ghosts hovering behind the scenes. Said he: "The $600,000 raised by oil companies [for Fields] is being used to repeat absolute lies. They're not concerned with gun control and these other things. They're concerned about their pocketbooks."

Eckhardt has long tilted at the oil companies, fighting for continued price controls on some categories of oil and for a strong windfall-profits tax. This year these positions have come back to haunt him. Oil executives and many of the Sunbelt migrants to his district dislike Eckhardt's liberalism. But in east Houston, where most of his district's 30% blacks and Hispanics live, Eckhardt has strong backing from those who work in the huge refineries. As he said last week at a union hall while introducing Senator Edward Kennedy, who was on a Texas swing for President Carter: "My supporters make the riches but don't share in the profits."



Eckhardt is tilting at Big Oil

The challenger, an athletic political novice, has worn out four pairs of shoes while knocking on 20,000 doors in 18 months. He has got strategic and financial help from the national Republican Party, including prepackaged issue papers designed to appeal to conservatives on matters like school prayers (favored) and abortion (opposed).

Fields, who claims that only 20% of his money comes from oil-related contributions, will outspend Eckhardt by $600,000 to $150,000. "I've got a hell of a race on my hands," admits Eckhardt. "In the past, I've beaten a challenger who outspent me 3 to 1, and now I'll see if I can beat one who'll outspend me 4 to 1."

Star Wars in Los Angeles

Only in the land of Tinsel Town could there be such a race. The Republican incumbent, Robert Dornan, 47, is a former B-movie actor and Emmy-winning TV talk show host. His challenger is Democrat Carey Peck, 31, son of Gregory Peck and a former Peace Corps volunteer in Senegal and Senate aide. The set: a onetime Republican stronghold that includes the Los Angeles suburbs of Santa Monica, Venice and Marina del Rey. Voters run the gamut from Ronald Reagan to Jane Fonda. Allows a Republican official: "The district is eccentric."

So is the campaign. The contenders first met in 1978, when Dornan beat Peck by only 2% of the vote. Some waggish voters are calling this contest Jaws II. Peck has been aided by such celebrities as Walter Matthau, Helen Reddy and Lily Tomlin; Dornan is relying on contributions from conservatives, plus the help of right-wing Fund Raiser Richard Viguerie, to match Peck's $500,000.

The candidates have plenty over which to fight. Dornan, an archconservative, is one of Congress's most fervent opponents of abortion, the ERA and SALT II. Says Dornan, a former Air Force fighter pilot: "The way to keep the peace is to prepare for war." Peck, on the other hand, is a self-proclaimed fiscal conservative and social liberal. He favors the ERA, more defense spending and tax incentives for building new homes, a popular issue in his district, with its 30% annual inflation in house prices.

Dornan is riding on a mudslide

But the issues have been obscured in the race by mud as thick as a Los Angeles slide. Dornan is an expert slinger; he has called Peck "a sick, pompous little ass" who is a "Daddy's boy looking for something to do." Early in the campaign, Dornan charged that Peck in 1978 accepted an illegal campaign contribution from an Alabama businessman who is in federal prison for fraud. The charge backfired: the businessman did try to contribute $13,000, but Peck eventually returned the checks. Peck faults Dornan for his membership, now terminated, on the advisory board of the right-wing Christian Voice organization of Pacific Grove, Calif.

Although Dornan and Peck debated 17 times in 1978, there have been only two this year. At one of the forums, Peck demanded an apology from his opponent for his campaign attacks. Dornan responded by slapping a coin down on the table: "Here's a dime, character. Use it to call and congratulate me on Nov. 4."

Peck may get to keep that dime. Dornan's tactics have turned off voters and helped win Peck the endorsement of Dornan's predecessor, eight-term Republican Alphonzo Bell, who stayed neutral in 1978. He now criticizes Dornan's "extremist, right-wing viewpoints." Although Dornan and Peck are running about even in the polls, political experts give Peck a good shot at pulling ahead. ■

Another Contrary Congress

Most incumbents will return, but more contentious than ever

The current Congress has been one of the most quarrelsome and rebellious ever faced by a President. The Congress that will emerge from next week's elections will probably not be much different. Once again, Democrats are almost certain to retain control of both chambers, as they have for all but four years since Franklin Roosevelt was elected in 1932. Leaders of both parties predict that the Republicans will score a net gain of twelve to 20 seats in the House and two or three in the Senate. But once again, whoever wins the White House will most likely find Congress in the same contrary and independent mood that has confronted Jimmy Carter for almost four years.

For one thing, the presidential nominees are expected to have very short coattails, nearly all House and Senate members will have to win on their own. Indeed, some popular candidates may even help Carter or Ronald Reagan take closely contested states. Thus few members of the 97th Congress will have any electoral debts to pay to the occupant of the Oval Office. Moreover, most Representatives and Senators still regard Carter, even near the end of his first term, as an outsider; Reagan would initially not be treated much differently.

Still, the next Congress will not be a carbon copy of its predecessor. Even if the Democrat *vs.* Republican lineup does not change much, congressional observers expect the outlook of both chambers to shift considerably to the right. Many Democrats, including liberals, have tried to keep pace with the conservative tide in the electorate. In addition, some prominent liberals may be defeated. Thus the next Congress may resist new spending programs, except on defense, and be more willing to strengthen agencies like the CIA.

The Democrats' nimble-footed move to the right is particularly galling for Republicans, who expected to benefit from the country's deepening conservative mood. A few months ago, G.O.P. leaders spoke euphorically of winning control of the Senate and perhaps even the House. Now they talk more soberly of winning control of the Senate in 1984 and the House at some time in the distant future.

The congressional elections are once again demonstrating the power of incumbency, which mostly helps the Democrats because they outnumber Republicans 59 to 41 in the Senate and 276 to 159 in the House. Members are boasting openly about funneling federal funds into their districts, while assuring voters that they are eliminating waste in other areas of the budget. Incumbents also benefit from a paradox: while voters consistently seem to distrust Congress as a whole, they usually admire their own legislators. Thus North Dakota's veteran G.O.P. Congressman Mark Andrews is considered a shoo-in for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Republican Milton Young. Says a disgruntled Democrat: "Andrews and God occupy the same niche here." Of the House incumbents, 51 have no opponent, scores face only token opposition, and 95% are expected to be re-elected.

DALE WITTNER

Brademas climbing for a vote in South Bend, Ind.

Demonstrating the power of incumbency with funds and favors.

It is still too early to tell if the Republicans' biggest gamble will pay off: namely, an all-out effort to unseat the House Democratic leaders. Republicans thought they discerned substantial erosion in the Democratic elders' home bases, and indeed some weakness has been exposed. Acknowledges House Speaker Tip O'Neill: "The people who put them in Congress in the first place are no longer around. Their organizations are not there."

Almost every Democratic leader is sweating out the campaign, and a few may go down to defeat, including House Democratic Whip John Brademas of Indiana. His opponent, Republican Businessman John Hiler, is working the factory gates for the blue-collar vote in a district that includes Elkhart County, where unemployment is nearly 16%. Trailing 12 points in the polls, Brademas is pouring tens of thousands of dollars into a media blitz that attacks Hiler as a tool of Big Oil because he opposes the windfall-profits tax. In Texas, House Majority Leader Jim Wright is in the toughest fight of his career against Jim Bradshaw, a former city council member in Fort Worth who has been aided by a surge in voter registration in traditionally Republican precincts. Democratic Congressman Morris Udall appeared to be moving past Richard Huff, Republican real estate millionaire, until Udall revealed that he is suffering from Parkinson's disease, thus injecting another uncertainty into the Arizona race.

Some of the Senate's leading liberals are also targeted and may or may not survive. In South Dakota, George McGovern has cut Republican James Abdnor's early lead by aggressive campaigning. Idaho's Frank Church is also pushing hard to hold off his Republican opponent, Steve Symms, while Colorado's Gary Hart is in a cliffhanger with Republican Secretary of State Mary Estill Buchanan. (Another woman candidate for the Senate, Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman, seems headed for victory in New York.)

The Abscam scandal threatens to remove a few incumbents from heretofore safe seats. Democrat Michael ("Ozzie") Myers of Philadelphia, who was expelled from the House after his Abscam bribery conviction, is expected to lose to Tom Foglietta, a former G.O.P. city councilman who is running as an independent. South Carolina Congressman John Jenrette, also convicted in Abscam, is depending on his popularity among rural blacks to win his tight race against Republican Lawyer John Napier

As usual, there could be some upsets in the making. Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, ailing and infirm, is being pressed by Democrat Bill Schulz, who is almost as conservative but healthier and younger (71 *vs.* 49). Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge, who was denounced by the Senate for financial misconduct, was thought to be unbeatable in a state that has not had a Republican Senator since 1873, but he is now a mere 7 points ahead of Challenger Mack Mattingly. It will be a long election night for many. ***—By Edwin Warner. Reported by Neil MacNeil/Washington and other U.S. bureaus***

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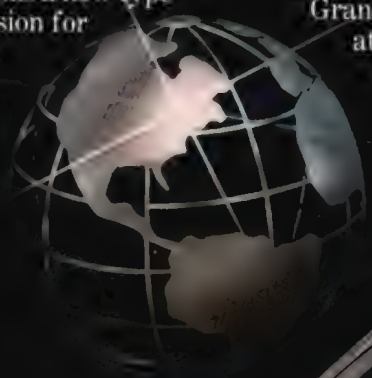

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The SX-70 Sonar

Who's for Whom

CARTER

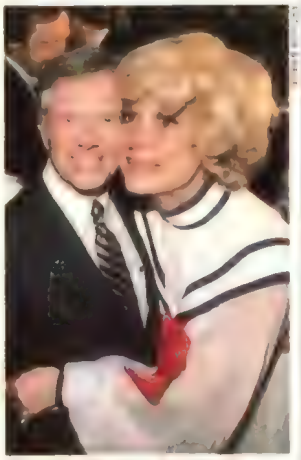
Carol Channing, actress: "We can't have a President who just acts like a President. I'm campaigning to save America from a Hollywood administration."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, black activist: "Mr. Reagan's approach to foreign policy is that of a macho man. And John Anderson is a vacuum cleaner to suck up the frustrated, the purist and the self-righteous."

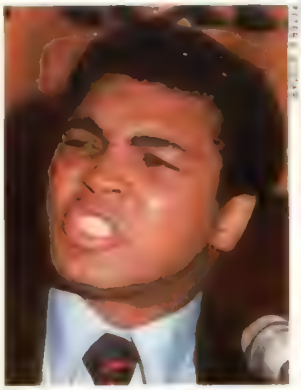
Loretta Lynn, country music star: "We can talk to the President. I'm a country girl and he's from the country too."

Muhammad Ali, former heavyweight boxing champion: "We don't have no black candidate for President, so it's up to us to choose the right white."

Goldie Hawn, when interrupted during an interview in Florida by a deafening overhead roar that the questioner identified as a B-52: "Oh, did Ronald Reagan already get in? I'm supporting Carter because I don't want to die."



Channing "saving America"



The Greatest for the right white

Jane Fonda, actress: "A vote for Anderson is a vote for Reagan, so I'm supporting Carter."

I.F. Stone, journalist: "Some in Reagan's entourage are wacky paranoids."

Also: **Hank Aaron, Leonard Bernstein, Johnny Cash, Helen Hayes, Coretta Scott King, Cheryl Ladd, Ann Landers, Willie Nelson, Leontyne Price, Burt Reynolds, Neil Simon, Cheryl Tiegs.**

REAGAN

Glen Campbell, one of the rare country-western singers for Reagan: "Any man who is 69 without gray hairs must know something."

Leon Jaworski, former Watergate special prosecutor: "I would rather have a competent extremist than an incompetent moderate."

Zsa Zsa Gabor, whose first choice is not a candidate this time: "Nixon would know how to deal with the Iranian militants: get a million dollars *baksheesh* and pay them off. They steal a ring off your finger and sell it back to you. Nixon understands."

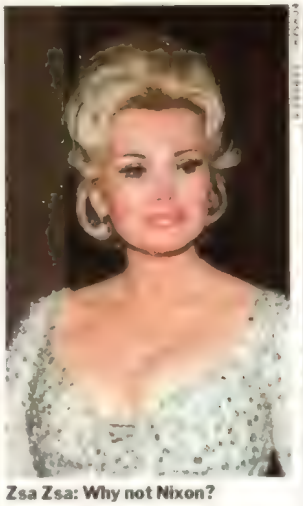
Eldridge Cleaver, former Black Panthers leader: "Carter has turned his back on [black Americans and] has become the laughing stock of the international community."

Frank Sinatra, singer: "Reagan has displayed a better grasp of the issues than the other candidates."

David Susskind, television producer: "Carter is incompetent, arrogant, insulated, provincial and unknowing. He is a pious fraud. The pietistic humbug is intolerable."

Roger Staubach, former quarterback for the Dallas Cowboys: "There have been a lot of poor decisions made in the last four years. We've got to stop the snowball from going downhill."

Ron and Nancy on the town with Frank and Barbara Sinatra



Zsa Zsa: Why not Nixon?

Charles Evers, Mississippi civil rights activist: "Carter grins too much. Got too many promises for everybody."

Also: **Pat Boone, James Cagney, Connie Francis, Milton Friedman, Lionel Hampton, Jack LaLanne, Michael Landon, Dean Martin, Eugene McCarthy, Ginger Rogers, James Stewart, Gloria Swanson.**

ANDERSON

Margot Kidder, actress, who has lately been sporting a VOTE ANDERSON T shirt: "I can't cast a vote because I'm Canadian, so I have to wear it."

Stockard Channing, actress: "He's addressing the issues rather than merely his opponents."

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., author: "A vote for Carter to keep Reagan out or a vote for Reagan to throw Carter out is not adequate."

Kurt Vonnegut Jr., novelist: "He hasn't insulted the intelligence of the American people. Well, it's a dull year, isn't it?"

Also: **Douglas Fairbanks Jr., Richard Kiley, Paul Newman, Jason Robards, Susan Sarandon, Gail Sheehy, James Taylor.**

NONE OF THE ABOVE

Studs Terkel, author: "If I had a thimble, and I poured into it the difference between Reagan and Carter, I would still have room for a double martini."

Raquel Welch, actress: "It's got down to a choice between the one with the fat lips and the one with no lips, so I'm voting libertarian."

Sammy Davis Jr., entertainer: "The only thing I'm endorsing this year are checks."

Davis: checking out of politics

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PERSIAN GULF

The Hostage Drama

Rumors of a deal feed hopes of freedom for Tehran's American captives

For nearly a year the 52 American hostages in Iran have been the world's most conspicuous captives. Hopes for their release have been periodically raised, and then abruptly shattered. Once again last week there was a dizzying flurry of rumors that the prisoners of the Islamic militants might soon get their freedom—perhaps in a deal involving the shipment of U.S. military supplies to embattled Iran. And once again, the final decision over their fate depended on the unpredictable judgment of Tehran's parliament, the 228-member Majlis, a body dominated by the most fanatical followers of the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini.

On Sunday the Majlis met to discuss the fate of the hostages. After a stormy public debate, the members went into secret session, which ended without a resolution of the issue; another secret session was scheduled for Monday. Moderate forces in the Majlis defeated a motion to suspend debate until after the U.S. elections. But anti-American zealots were carrying out a filibuster, designed to prevent an early vote on proposed conditions for the hostages' release that were believed to be acceptable to the U.S.

A hostage homecoming, if it came on the eve of a closely fought presidential election, might put Carter in the White House for another four years. The prospect of a hostage deal, however, confronted his Administration with an acute foreign-policy dilemma. Because of obvious political as well as humanitarian considerations, the President could hardly reject any reasonable terms for the freedom of the captives. Yet any U.S. concessions, particularly on the shipment of military spare parts, might compromise Washington's neutral stance on the Persian Gulf war, thereby enraging Iraq and dismaying its pro-American supporters in the war with Iran —Saudi Arabia and Jordan. At worst, such a *quid pro quo* might be construed by Moscow as direct U.S. interference and thus provide an alibi for an expanded Soviet role in the conflict.

At week's end Administration officials reported that Iran was considering an initial release of up to 40 hostages, with the others to be held pending a final settlement of the U.S.-Iran dispute. But such a partial liberation would put Carter in a political bind at home—especially if the remaining hostages were subjected to trials. Washington thus sent word to Tehran insisting on the release of all the Americans at the same time.

Seized hostages. Insets: Prime Minister Raja'i (above) and Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani

Long before the Iraqis invaded Iran on Sept. 22, leading Iranian moderates, including President Abolhassan Banisadr, had warned that holding the hostages was pushing Iran into dangerous diplomatic isolation. Khomeini appeared ready to seek a compromise in September when he announced a scaled-down set of conditions for the release. Though the 80-year-old Islamic revolutionary gave the Majlis final responsibility over the American captives, he suggested the following terms for their freedom: 1) return of the late Shah's wealth, 2) cancellation of all U.S. claims against Iran, 3) release of Iranian assets frozen in the U.S. and 4) an American guarantee of noninterference in Iranian affairs. Khomeini's list dropped previous Iranian insistence on a formal American apology and a trial for the hostages. Washington subsequently sent word that Khomeini's four conditions might serve as a basis for negotiations.

Two weeks ago, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Raja'i visited the U.N. to denounce the Iraqi invasion. Although he ignored Carter's offer of a direct meeting, Raja'i told a New York press conference that the U.S. now appeared "ready to cooperate" on resolving the issue. He later said he expected the Majlis to agree that Khomeini's four demands were sufficient and was "certain" that Washington would accept them. Majlis Speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani fueled hopes by predicting the speedy liberation of the hostages and minimizing the possibility that any would be tried as spies. Hojatolislam Ashgar Mousavi Khoeiny, a member of the parliamentary committee set up to propose conditions for the hostages' release, said the Americans might be freed early this week. But after the Sunday session of the Majlis ended in stalemate, a State Department official estimated that there was only about a 10% chance that the hostages would be home before the election, even if the debate ends favorably.

The Carter Administration, meanwhile, was sending Tehran clear signs of its good will. Speaking in Chicago, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie criticized Iraq's "invasion" and said the U.S. opposed the "dismemberment" of Iran. Muskie also suggested that top Administration officials would willingly fly to Iran to negotiate the hostage release directly. Carter, stumping in Ohio, promised a three-point response to a hostage release: 1) the unfreezing of Tehran's assets, 2) an end to the trade embargo, which could mean the resumption of military spare

parts shipments and 3) the restoration of "normal commerce" with Iran. Finally, U.S. Ambassador Donald F. McHenry told the United Nations Security Council: "The cohesion and stability of Iran is in the interest of the stability and prosperity of the region as a whole. The national integrity of Iran is today threatened by the Iraqi invasion."

U.S. diplomats were rather more cautious than Carter's entourage in responding to what State Department Spokesman John Trattner called the "delicious shudder of rumors." Privately, some State Department veterans were dismayed that a pro-Iranian policy was being concocted on the hustings for what might in part be domestic political reasons. One cause for diplomatic skepticism was Iran's crippling internal political dissensions, which had frustrated all past attempts to obtain the freedom of the hostages. Another was the lack of any reliable channel for the direct negotiations that would be necessary to seal an agreement.

A further obstacle to any prospective hostage deal lay in the snarl of legal complications that would make it impossible for Washington to deliver promptly on three of Khomeini's four conditions. Last Nov. 14, Carter issued an Executive order that froze more than $8 billion in Iranian assets held by U.S. banks. To unfreeze them now, explained the legal counsel for a major New York bank, would be "like putting an omelet back into the egg." Various corporations and individuals have liens against those assets to cover unpaid Iranian debts, and U.S. banks have "offset" a total of about $1.5 billion to cover their outstanding loans to Iran. Said David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank: "If the Iranians think they are going to get all the assets they have here immediately, they're going to be disappointed."

As for the Shah's fortune, the State Department has been unable even to inventory his U.S. holdings. However, the U.S. would have no authority to turn them over to Tehran unless litigation proved they had been illegally acquired by the Shah and his relatives. About all the Administration could do to satisfy this condition would be to assist the Iranians in tracking down the Pahlavi fortune and pursuing it through the U.S. courts.

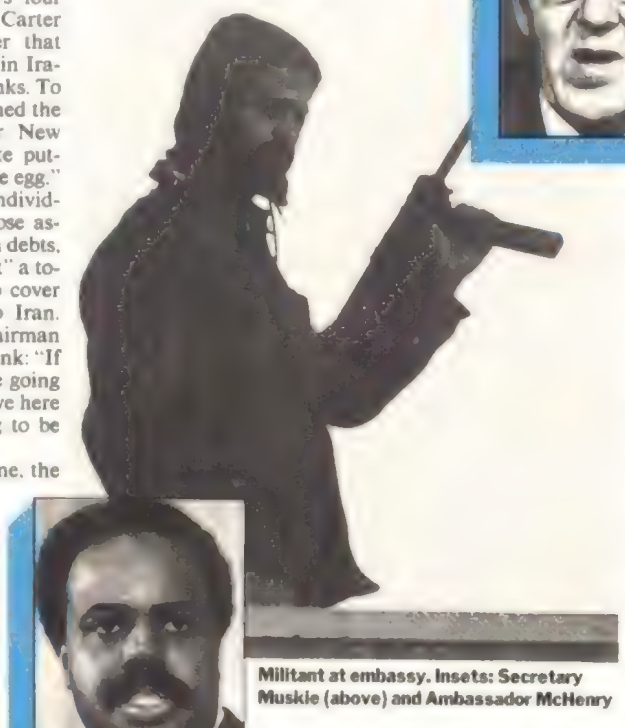
Tehran's leaders probably realize that they could not swiftly recover all the frozen assets. Their most immediate interest may be the reopening of a supply channel for spare parts and ammunition for Iran's U.S.-built arms and matériel. If and when the trade embargo is lifted, there would be no legal obstacle to the shipment of $550 million worth of impounded military equipment ordered and paid for by the Shah.

Prime Minister Raja'i last week denied any intention of seeking "new arms deals" with Washington. Carter, for his part, ambiguously declared that no "lethal" military equipment would be shipped to Iran while the war continued.

U.S. policymakers could not ignore the ominous view that some Arab nations would attach to any improvement of U.S.-Iranian relations. One senior Administration official expressed the hope that the more reasonable Persian Gulf states, and possibly even Iraq, "would understand the context in which it was done." But there were few signs of such comprehension. The Iraqis and their friends were clearly concerned that a new flow of military supplies, even of a nonlethal nature, could invigorate Iran's beleaguered forces and possibly help turn the tide of war.

The Saudis were especially worried lest a resumption of American shipments goad the Soviets to assert greater influence through their own supply channels to the region—thus tainting Moscow's neutrality and contributing to the polarization of the superpowers in the gulf conflict. This threat was implicitly raised last week by Iraqi Foreign Minister Saadoun Hammadi, who warned that Iraq would consider the U.S. a "hostile party in the gulf conflict" if it sent supplies to Iran. Hammadi added: "The U.S. had better remain neutral, or else other parties could become directly involved in the war."

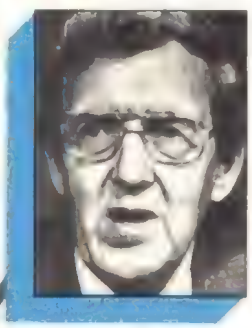
Even pro-U.S. Arab states were bewildered by the mixed signals from Washington. The Saudis, for example, were pleased by the rapid deployment last month of four U.S. AWACS surveillance planes to aid in the defense of their oilfields. But the latest U.S. overtures to Iran have revived their frustration over the vacillating tendencies of the Administration's foreign policy.



MARC RIBOUD

Militant at embassy. Insets: Secretary Muskie (above) and Ambassador McHenry

Apart from its diplomatic repercussions, the renewed shipment of spare parts for Iranian Phantom fighter jets could considerably improve Tehran's military effectiveness in the struggle. Iranian pilots have demonstrated clear-cut superiority so far during the war, but their bombing and strafing forays have been curtailed by a spare parts shortage that has kept half their planes grounded. If Iran's air force could launch more effective bombing raids, it might be able to mount counterattacks against the Iraqi ground forces. "If we could afford the luxury of a little hardware wastage," said one Iranian military official last week, "we would make mincemeat of the armed forces of Iraq in an unbelievably short time."



Tehran was in need of some sort of boost as the Iraqi army tightened its hold on the major cities of oil-rich Khuzistan province. At week's end, after a monthlong siege and weeks of hand-to-hand combat, Iraqi troops and tanks seized the key port of Khorramshahr on the disputed Shatt al Arab estuary.

"The Iranian flag was lowered from over the government house in Mohammerah [the Arabic name for Khorramshahr], and the Iraqi flag was hoisted to declare the return of the city to Arab rule forever," proclaimed a triumphant Iraqi military communiqué. Defense Minister Major General Adnan Khairallah said that Iraq had captured 7,700 sq. mi. of Iranian territory since the war began.

Radio Tehran contested the Iraqi claims, insisting that Revolutionary Guards still held key quarters of Khorramshahr. But Iran admitted that the major refinery city of Abadan, ten miles to the south, had been totally surrounded by Iraqi forces seeking to starve out its last defenders. The Iraqis reportedly blew up sections of the main pipeline linking Abadan to Tehran, thereby depriving Iran of most of its domestic fuel supply. The Iranian Oil Ministry imposed a drastic rationing of home heating oil, following earlier restrictions on gasoline.

The fall of Khorramshahr gave Iraqi

Members of Iranian Majlis stand to vote during Sunday's debate on the hostages

President Saddam Hussein his first major victory. It also left the Iraqis in complete control of the Shatt al Arab and bolstered their military position as they continued assaults not only on Abadan but also on the other key Khuzistan cities of Ahwaz and Dezful. Iraq's First Deputy Prime Minister, Taha Yasin Ramadan, reportedly stated that Baghdad's objective was to take not only the main provincial cities but Khuzistan's oilfields as well. These would be held until the Iranians accepted the three conditions stated by Baghdad at the beginning of the conflict: 1)Iraqi control over the Shatt al Arab, 2) redefinition of the border and 3) return of three gulf islands to "Arab sovereignty."

There are signs that Iraq's political objectives have broadened. Saddam apparently wants to "liberate" oil-rich Khuzistan, which has a predominantly Arab population and is known to its inhabitants as Arabistan. Iraqi officials now offer their "private opinion" that the war will result in an autonomous Arabistan with close ties to Baghdad.

On a tour of the combat zone, TIME Middle East Bureau Chief William Stewart observed a major road-building operation under way between a point on the Shatt al Arab, north of the Iraqi port of Basra, to the Iraqi front at Ahwaz some 100 miles to the northeast. Reported Stewart: "Civilians man hundreds of giant road-building machines night and day in an effort to complete the two-lane highway before the rainy season next month. Beyond its immediate military value, the undertaking suggests that the Iraqis intend to settle in for a long stay and are perhaps even preparing a direct communications network between Iraq and a future Arabistan."

Despite some successes, Iraq so far has been unable to crush Iranian resistance. One reason has been the tenacity of the Iranians. Khomeini welcomed the war from the outset as a blessing in disguise; his enthusiasm appears undiminished by military setbacks. Last week he called on Iranians to prepare for a jihad, or holy war, against Saddam's "pagan regime."

Khomeini's bellicosity is fully shared by other clerical leaders, who see the war as a unique chance to export their Islamic revolution by the sword. The mullahs have recruited their own irregular forces at hundreds of local mosques, and many of the clerics have taken military instruction themselves. Iran's "patriotic war" has also been joined by hundreds of seasoned leftist guerrillas, who brave clerical harassment in order to fight the common Iraqi enemy.

Iran's conventional forces and the Revolutionary Guards, who bear the brunt of the defense effort, have not been the pushovers that Iraq apparently expected them to be. The Iranian air force, in particular, has repeatedly defied enemy antiaircraft defenses to blast strategic targets deep inside Iraq. Iranian gunboats have remained a threat to Iraqi shipping and coastal installations. Consequently, after five weeks of fighting, Iraq was winning the battle for Khuzistan, but had by no means won the war. The fundamental problem was how to end a struggle in which both sides have vowed never to retreat or surrender. Iran has a historical affinity for martyrdom, Iraq for violence to the point of self-destruction.

Diplomatic overtures launched last week raised little hope for a speedy end to hostilities. A "good will" mission sent to Tehran by the Islamic Conference was haughtily instructed by Khomeini to limit its activities to investigating Iraqi "war crimes." The special session of the U.N. Security Council called to discuss the war ended inconclusively.

Meanwhile, as black clouds continued to rise over burning refineries on both sides of the embattled border, the stakes grew larger daily—not only for the belligerent neighbors but also for a world faced with the alarming prospect of a broader confrontation along Asia's volatile crescent of crisis. *—By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by William Stewart/Basra and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

Plans for a Pilgrimage

It was probably the most bizarre story to emerge from the Persian Gulf war. Well-informed Iranians insisted that it was totally false. Equally well-informed Saudis said it was all too true. A Western intelligence source was inclined to believe the Saudis.

One casualty of the Iran-Iraq war, the story goes, was a plan by Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini to make the hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, where thousands of his supporters apparently planned a clash with Saudi Arabian authorities. A Saudi source said that 5,000 young Iranians had applied for visas to accompany the Ayatullah on his pilgrimage. More than that, a number of Iranians carrying forged Pakistani passports were caught two weeks ago after landing on the Saudi coast of the Persian Gulf. The area has a large population of Shi'ite Muslims; many are known to be sympathetic to Khomeini's revolutionary ideals, and many are resentful of the country's royal rulers.

The Saudis have been worried that Khomeini's revolution might spread to their side of the gulf. An uprising by fundamentalist Sunni Muslims during the hajj last year resulted in many deaths and shook the country. Recently, Saudi police confiscated truckloads of small arms, ammunition and grenades that had been smuggled into the country. The Saudis suspect that Syria and Libya, which are backing Iran in the war with Iraq, may be involved in the smuggling efforts.

Some observers cast doubt on the story, pointing out that the 80-year-old Ayatullah could hardly undertake an arduous hajj in his frail condition—much less a pilgrimage that might lead to his capture by the Saudis in the middle of a battle. Others argue that the Shi'ite zeal for dramatic martyrdom should not be underestimated. Besides, they claimed, Arabic radio broadcasts from Iran have regularly beamed calls for popular uprisings and civil disobedience in the desert kingdom.

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Change at the top: Alexei Kosygin bows out, Nikolai Tikhonov moves up

SOVIET UNION

And Then There Was One

Kosygin resigns in favor of a Brezhnev yes man

Once there were three. After Nikita Khrushchev's ouster in 1964, the mantle of Soviet leadership fell to a power-sharing troika: Leonid Brezhnev as Communist Party chief, Nikolai Podgorny as President, and Alexei Kosygin as Prime Minister. Slowly and then surely, Brezhnev emerged as the dominant figure. In 1977, Podgorny was shunted aside and Brezhnev added the presidency to his other powerful post, relegating Kosygin to a much diminished role. Last week the troika became one

The announcement came, fittingly enough, from Brezhnev himself, who after 16 years at the helm has proved to be the most durable Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin. Addressing 1,500 delegates to the biannual session of the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin, Brezhnev announced that Kosygin, 76, was stepping down "on the grounds of his health, which has recently worsened." To replace him as Prime Minister, Brezhnev formally nominated Kosygin's longtime deputy, Nikolai Tikhonov, 75. The parliament's approval, with a unanimous show of hands, came automatically. Kosygin and former President Anastas Mikoyan are the only top Kremlin leaders who are known to have left office voluntarily

Kosygin also asked to resign from the Politburo; that request will probably be taken up at the next party congress in February. The retiring Premier is believed to have suffered two heart attacks in the past four years, and has long been afflicted by painful circulatory ailments. Kosygin's absences from public view have become more frequent and prolonged. "He has been trying to resign for some time," a family friend explained last week. "He just wanted to rest and fish."

Kosygin's replacement by a man only a year younger once again dramatized the aging fragility of the Soviet leadership. Although he has appeared robust and vigorous in his recent public appearances, Brezhnev is 73 and suffers from a host of ailments, reportedly including cancer of the jaw and heart disease. The average age of the inner circle of the ruling 15-man Politburo is 69. Most Kremlinologists agreed that the Kosygin move did not presage any major shake-up or policy shift. If anything, it was expected to enhance Brezhnev's own already dominant power. A master of political survival, who was said by Dissident Leader Andrei Sakharov to be "the most intelligent and toughest man in the Politburo," Kosygin periodically differed with Brezhnev both on economic and foreign policy. In 1968, for instance, he was thought to have opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In Tikhonov, Brezhnev has acquired the nearest thing to a tried and tested yes man. Tall, square-faced and self-effacing, the veteran technocrat has little foreign and defense policy experience; he has been known as a Brezhnev protégé ever since the two studied metallurgical engineering at neighboring technical institutes in the Ukraine in the 1930s. He became deputy chairman of GOSPLAN, the state planning committee, in 1963, a Deputy Premier in 1965 and a full member of the Politburo last November. By then, as First Deputy Premier, he had already become Kosygin's virtually full-time stand-in. ■

Slim Pickings

The harvest falls short again

Food shortages are an irksome hallmark of daily life in the Soviet Union But this year the problems have come earlier and will last longer. Even in Moscow, the best supplied city in the country, shops are feeling the pinch, and many meat and vegetable counters are empty. In his economic report to the Party Central Committee last week, Leonid Brezhnev warned that the situation may get even worse. Although this year's wheat harvest was big enough to ensure the production of the 46 million tons of grain needed for Soviet citizens' annual consumption of bread, there may be precious little meat to go with it. Reason: the total grain harvest will fall far short of the 235-million-ton target, thereby causing severe shortages of livestock feed. This year's harvest is expected to yield only 181 million tons, just 2 million tons more than last year's total and well below the record 237 million tons produced in 1978. Soviet officials had said earlier this month that they expected a yield of 190 million tons

The U.S.S.R. once again will have to go shopping for grain on the international market. If Washington continues its embargo, Moscow will be able to buy only 8 million tons from the U.S., under a bilateral grain agreement that remains in force until next September. Though the Soviets may be able to import as much grain as they did last year, when they made big purchases from Argentina and Canada, the experts believe that Moscow will still suffer a severe shortfall

Even as Brezhnev was delivering his gloomy report, the U.S. and China were signing a four-year agreement that calls for the U.S. to supply the Chinese with between 6 million and 9 million tons of wheat and corn annually. The Chinese thus became a $1-billion- to $1.5-billion-a-year grain customer at a time when American farmers were complaining about the losses caused by the embargo to the Soviets—as Candidate Jimmy Carter was well aware.

In his report to the Central Committee, Brezhnev candidly discussed the "difficulties" of the Soviets' cumbersome distribution system. He warned that the government must "show more concern for increasing the production of goods and services for the population." One sign that the leadership takes the consumer seriously: the swift elevation of Mikhail Gorbachov, agriculture czar since 1978, to full membership in the Politburo last week. At 49, Gorbachov becomes its youngest member. Some experts believe that the Kremlin is digesting the lesson of Poland and wants to damp down potential discontent. Soviet citizens consume only 70% as much meat as the Poles, who went on strike over their own shortage. ■

ESPIONAGE

Living on Burrowed Time

Was onetime CIA Agent David Barnett a KGB mole?

The news did nothing to improve the already tarnished reputation of the Central Intelligence Agency. In Baltimore last week, a grand jury indicted David Barnett, 47, a former CIA covert agent, on a single count of selling top-secret information to the agency's Soviet counterpart, the KGB. Barnett allegedly fed the Soviets details about a CIA operation code-named HABRINK, set up to collect data on Soviet weaponry systems.

Barnett, who was said to be living with his family in Bethesda, Md., was expected to plead guilty this week. Though he faces a maximum sentence of life imprisonment, he may receive a lighter penalty for confessing. It is the first public case of a CIA official giving secrets to the KGB.

A 1955 graduate of the University of Michigan, Barnett joined the CIA in 1958 and served as an analyst with U.S. Army intelligence units in South Korea and Washington, D.C. From 1965 to 1967, he worked at CIA headquarters in Langley, Va., as a staff officer in the directorate of operations, which ran the agency's worldwide covert activities. In 1967 Barnett was assigned to a diplomatic post in Indonesia, where he was responsible for recruiting local Soviet officials to spy for the U.S. He quit the agency in 1970 to run an antiques-exporting firm in Indonesia, but apparently continued to work for the CIA on a contract basis. At some point after his "retirement," with his business on the verge of bankruptcy, Barnett was recruited as a KGB mole.

The most important information Barnett gave the Soviets concerned the CIA's Operation HABRINK in the late '60s. Moscow was then supplying Indonesia's President Sukarno with billions of dollars worth of military equipment. Indonesian naval officers, however, were selling some of the Soviet weapons, parts and manuals to the CIA. Barnett worked on the project under diplomatic cover. He may also have provided details on other covert activities he had known about during his directorate years. And as one former agency official put it, the KGB would surely have debriefed Barnett on CIA minutiae: "the weaknesses of colleagues; who was sleeping with whom; who had a drinking problem; who was unhappy—information that is really useful to them." In any case, the notoriously stingy KGB did pay Barnett nearly $100,000, and in 1977 it persuaded him to apply for staff positions on the Senate and House intelligence committees and the White House Intelligence Oversight Board.

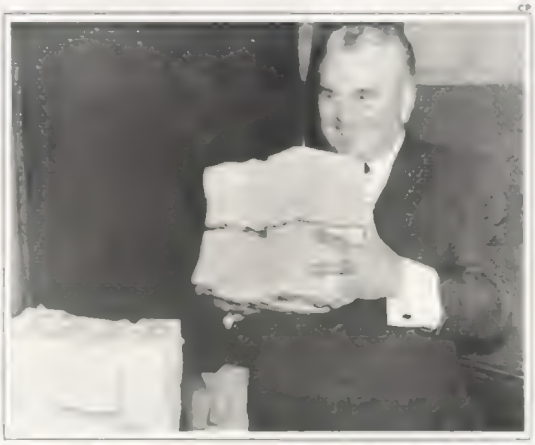
Barnett failed, apparently because there were no openings. In January 1979, however, he was rehired by the CIA as a contract agent; 13 months later he abruptly resigned. By that time, both the CIA and the FBI were aware that Barnett was a KGB agent. In fact, TIME has learned that his links with the Soviets were known to some U.S. officials at least two years before the CIA rehired him. That, of course, raises a crucial question: Why was Barnett allowed to return to the agency?

Justice Department officials contend that Barnett was not arrested or exposed earlier because the CIA hoped to turn him into a triple agent. Intelligence experts scoff at this argument on the ground that the KGB would never trust a turncoat agent with any Soviet secrets. Another theory is that rehiring Barnett was simply an administrative goof. When it was discovered, officials decided that the best strategy was to play for time until it was decided how to handle his case with the least amount of damaging publicity. Whatever the truth, the Justice Department promises to shed at least some light on the shadowy case of David Barnett when he is formally arraigned this week. ■

From Russia, with Interest

Blissfully surrounded by bales of Canadian $1 bills totaling $36,000, Toronto Businessman Wallace Edwards, 54, hoisted a glass of Russian vodka and savored victory. In the preceding days, he had legally seized a $13 million freighter, frozen the bank accounts of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa and, in the process, succeeded in collecting a 13-year-old account from a rather unusual debtor—the Kremlin. It was without doubt one of the most dogged dunning operations on record.

It seems that in 1967 Edwards' now defunct Ottawa-based printing company had produced a magazine for the Soviet Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal, but the Soviets refused to pay the final $26,000 invoice for the printing order. When Edwards approached the Canadian Department of External Affairs for some needed muscle, he was informed that he would have little luck in collecting the debt. "They told me," says Edwards, "the Russians had immunity." Undeterred, Edwards considered trying to impound the ice skates of the visiting Soviet hockey team. In 1973 he persuaded a local court to order the seizure of a Soviet airliner, but that endeavor fizzled under pressure from a number of less determined Canadian government agencies.



Edwards fondling some of the $36,000 paid by the Kremlin

Seven years and innumerable appeals later, Edwards' pertinacity finally paid off. Last week, as the Soviet freighter *Stanislavskiy* rested in its Toronto berth, Sheriff Joseph Bremner trotted up the gangplank and informed Captain Yuri Surnin that he was seizing his ship until the bill was paid. *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, yowled that the boarding had been carried out by "police thugs acting like medieval pirates." But when Edwards also took actions to freeze the bank accounts of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, Moscow warmed to the possibility of a settlement of the original bill plus interest, court costs and pier charges. While he was at it, Edwards also demanded, and duly received, a case of vodka and a pound of caviar for a celebration party. "Mr. Edwards," said one of his lawyers, "is one of the most unique clients we've ever had."

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BUICK

EASTERN EUROPE

Chilly Time for Détente

Poland's Communist neighbors are worried about independence

From the moment it was signed, the Gdansk agreement ending Poland's nationwide strike sent ripples of unease through Eastern Europe. Would the new independent unions demand too much, thereby inviting Moscow's wrath as well as its army? Would the Polish disease spread and cause unrest in other Communist countries? How would the Soviets keep their satellites in line?

As the ripples intensified, East bloc nations have nervously responded to events in Poland with a series of tough acts and words, directed against both "antisocialist elements" in their countries and against the West. Items:

▸ Ending a period of relative concord between the two Germanys, East Germany abruptly required visitors from the West to change $13.90 a day into East German marks instead of the previous minimum of $7.20; within a week visits dropped by nearly 60%. As part of an escalating war of words, East German radio one night carried three hours of speeches attacking Bonn. East German Party Boss Erich Honecker sounded a theme rarely heard in the era of détente: "Once again it is clear that the removal of capitalistic society is historically necessary." Earlier he had warned: "Poland is and will remain a socialist country," adding ominously: "We and our friends will make sure of that."

▸ Vasil Bil'ak, a hard-lining ideologue of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party, asserted that a counterrevolution had already begun in Poland, and that the strike leaders "want to transform the alleged independent unions into a legal base of opposition activity and the main channel for continuing outside interference in Poland's affairs."

▸ Rumanian President Nicolae Ceauşescu, who has stressed industrial development at the expense of the consumer, criticized Poland's new independent unions, asking rhetorically what they were independent of: "Of revolutionary attitudes? Of the struggle against oppression and social injustice?" The slogan "independence," he said, has always been used to break the unity of the working class and to serve the interests of imperialism.

Most Western analysts concluded that the tough talk was designed largely for domestic consumption—in effect, a warning from these repressive East bloc governments to their own citizens against trying to follow the Poles' example. "But if the Poles push Moscow too far and provoke a military move, that raises the crisis level to East-West status, and requires a response from Washington," said a Foreign Ministry specialist in Bonn. "There's no telling where that might lead."

Events in Poland took a dangerous turn late last week when a Warsaw district court doublecrossed *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity), the umbrella organization claiming to represent some 50 independent unions and 7 million workers. At issue was Solidarity's request for legal recognition, which had been blocked for a month because the union charter did not explicitly recognize the supremacy of the Communist Party. After several hours of argument, the court agreed to register the labor group, leaving the charter dispute unresolved—and seemingly forgotten.

Lech Walesa sports a plumed hat and decorated ax given to him by supporters in Cracow

Defiant after a setback: "They will not do to us things that we do not want done."

But after a short recess, the judge tacked on some amendments to the original charter. To the dismay of union leaders, he inserted the objectionable clause about party supremacy. In a statement read by Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa, the union denounced the "arbitrary" revision and vowed to be "guided by the charter without the changes made by the court." Outside the courthouse, Walesa told supporters: "They will not do to us things that we do not want done."

This is no idle boast. The charismatic Walesa, 37, has emerged as a national hero who can mobilize hundreds of thousands of workers. During a five-day tour of southern Poland, he was greeted by large and enthusiastic throngs. The emotional high point came in Cracow, where he was swept up by the crowd and carried on shoulders two miles to the old city's Market Square. There he raised his hand and declared: "I swear that I will not disappoint you in that which we do and intend to do." The gathering of 30,000 responded with chants of "Walesa, Walesa!" and "Long live Walesa!"

Many Polish workers are restive about official foot dragging on the Gdansk agreement; they have threatened to register their displeasure with a nationwide work stoppage similar to the one that shut factories for an hour on Oct. 3. Walesa and others had argued against such a step, at least for the moment. Said Walesa: "We are aware of the economic losses another strike would entail, but, since this is our weapon, we cannot give up using it."

The Roman Catholic Church, always a potent force in Polish affairs, could become a possible mediator between the workers and the authorities. Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, told a delegation from Solidarity: "I am with you. You will last it out and you will win." Two days later the Cardinal met with new Party Boss Stanislaw Kania and discussed, according to the Polish Press Agency, "matters of great significance for the internal peace of the country."

Already mired in Afghanistan, the U.S.S.R. would be reluctant to invade another satellite, no matter how balky. But Moscow might have to move, if only to stifle rumblings of discontent within its own borders. Estonian émigrés in Stockholm report that there have been nationalist demonstrations at schools in the Estonian capital of Tallinn, as well as a strike at a tractor factory in the city of Tartu. Students in Tartu held protest rallies, demanding an end to the 40-year-old Soviet occupation of their country. Walesa is characteristically defiant about the possibility of Soviet intervention. "Tanks can guard us," he says, "but they cannot make us work." —*By Stephen Smith. Reported by Barry Kalb/Berlin*

FRANCE

Off and Running

Rocard enlivens the race

For 2½ years he has been stalking his prey, sometimes discreetly, sometimes unabashedly. Last week Michel Rocard finally made his ambitions official. From the town hall he occupies as mayor of the Paris suburb of Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, the compact (5 ft. 6 in.), crimson-cheeked economist formally declared that he was challenging François Mitterrand for the Socialist Party's nomination as its candidate against Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the presidential election next May. Rocard gracefully suggested that Mitterrand, a veteran of more than three decades in French politics, could stay on as party leader. But the true meaning of Rocard's announcement was best

Socialist Presidential Candidate Rocard

A distaste for the Union of the Left.

summed up by an irreverent headline in the newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris*—ROCARD: MITTERRAND TO THE MUSEUM, I TO THE ÉLYSÉE.

Rocard became the third major candidate to join France's presidential race. The Communists, to no one's surprise, have designated Party Leader Georges Marchais, 60. Michel Debré, 68, who was Charles de Gaulle's Prime Minister from 1958 to 1962, has launched an independent candidacy designed to discourage Neo-Gaullist Leader and Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac. Rocard, though, is the only French politician given any chance of mounting a credible campaign against Giscard. Recent polls give Rocard more than 48% against Giscard. Mitterrand, who with 49.2% in 1974 came within a hairbreadth of the presidency, scores only 43%.

Rocard, who is 14 years younger than Mitterrand, has an engaging, feisty personality; his quick mind and sharp tongue come across well on television. Above all, he appeals to non-Socialist moderates. He has never concealed his distaste for the Union of the Left, the Socialist-Communist alliance that almost won the 1974 presidential election, only to collapse just before the parliamentary vote of 1978. Rocard is far more comfortable with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's brand of social democracy than with the quasi-Marxist yearnings of his own party's left wing.

Mitterrand's intentions are a mystery. Most likely, he will try to remain aloof, hoping that a divided party will turn to him as a unifier at its January congress.

Giscard professes to be unfazed by Rocard's candidacy. The President's advisers are convinced that Rocard will fall victim to what Frenchmen now call the Teddy Kennedy phenomenon: a sharp decline in popularity once the candidate comes out in the open. Rocard does have a vulnerable side: a tendency to shoot from the hip. Last summer he seriously suggested sending the French navy into the Baltic to rescue Poles in the event of a Soviet invasion. Such pronouncements might seem to make him an easy campaign target. Nonetheless, Giscard would rather run against Mitterrand—if only to defeat, once and for all, those Socialist Party leftists who still long for an alliance with the Communists. ■

ITALY

Back at Work

Forlani launches a Cabinet

The sprawling Fiat automobile plant in Turin hummed with activity last week after the end of a five-week strike in protest against 14,000 layoffs. Fiat's unions accepted a compromise settlement that called for government compensation to the laid-off workers and a pledge by the company to rehire any who might still be out of jobs in 1983. Brushing off a lone leftist hawking protest leaflets at the gate, a young worker exclaimed: "Soon we'll be getting a pay packet again!"

For many Italians, the harmonious mood at the auto plant was the first accomplishment of their country's new government, and a possible harbinger of its durability. The Fiat dispute had contributed to the defeat of the outgoing Cabinet led by Prime Minister Francesco Cossiga, which collapsed in September after losing a secret-ballot vote on its economic program. Everyone knew that the strike settlement was related to a four-party political deal that had spawned a new government headed by Christian Democratic Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani. Last week, drawing a comfortable majority of 52 in a parliamentary vote of confidence, Forlani was formally installed as head of Italy's 40th postwar Cabinet.

Like its predecessor, the new government is a carefully crafted, center-left coalition, with 27 Cabinet posts distributed according to a classic division of spoils: 14 for the dominant Christian Democrats (who won 38% of the vote in last year's election), seven for the Socialists (10%), and three each for the Social Democrats (4%) and Republicans (3%). Like Cossiga, Forlani, 54, is an affable, middle-of-the-road veteran of Rome's political wars, whose previous post was president of the Christian Democratic Party.

Why then was Forlani being given a somewhat better chance of survival? For one thing, he appeared to have a broader base of support within his own party, having assigned three Cabinet seats to its mutinous left wing; some of its members had been suspected of having helped bring down Cossiga by voting against the government in the secret ballot. For another, Forlani had a strongly reinforced Socialist Party behind him, thanks to the aggressive leadership of its burly party secretary, Bettino Craxi, 46. Three weeks ago, Craxi unexpectedly announced an alliance with the Social Democrats and brought them into the coalition as an additional, fourth partner. Finally, in exchange for policy concessions on labor and the economy, Forlani may have secured the prospect of a comparatively benign opposition from the powerful Communists (30% of the vote), who were unremittingly hostile to Cossiga.

New Prime Minister Forlani

A possible harbinger of durability.

Nonetheless, Forlani clearly faces tough times. Italy's inflation is running at 22%, unemployment stands at 7.6%, and the trade deficit is expected to be ten times as large as last year's. Despite his promising start, the intractable problems of a deteriorating economy could yet send the smiling new Prime Minister the way of his 39 postwar predecessors. ■

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PHILIPPINES

No to Marcos

His foes turn to bombs

To most of the 5,000 people in Manila's plush International Convention Center, the explosion at first seemed to be a sound effect: they had been watching a noisy slide show depicting U.S. Admiral George Dewey's 1898 defeat of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. But the blast was a real one: 18 stunned and bleeding delegates to a convention of the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA) emerged from the hall after a bomb exploded only 50 ft. from their host, President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines.

The bombing was a profound embarrassment for Marcos, who only minutes earlier had assured the ASTA delegates that political terrorism in his troubled country was "a nightmare that we hope is past and gone." A terrorist group calling itself the April 6 Liberation Movement, after a massive 1978 anti-Marcos demonstration in Manila, had warned the travel agents to boycott the convention. Even though terrorists had set off some 20 bombs since August, killing one person and injuring scores, American embassy officials in Manila and the FBI assured ASTA that the chances of an incident were small. To make them even smaller, Marcos had assigned 3,000 security personnel to protect the convention-center complex. The terrorists circumvented the precautions by smuggling their small bomb into the auditorium in the official briefcase of an ASTA delegate.

The April 6 Movement is the most visible, and most violence-prone, member of a new constellation of radical opposition groups that is sometimes called the Third Force, because it is both anti-Marcos and anti-Communist. The Third Force is composed mainly of middle-class Filipinos, many of them devout Catholics, who believe that the violent overthrow of Marcos' eight-year-old martial law regime is morally justified. Their reasoning: corruption and rigged elections have made peaceful opposition futile.

Marcos denounced the bombing as "a crime against humanity" and issued orders for the arrest of 30 well-known opponents of his regime. Most of those on the President's list, however, were already in exile. One of the most prominent, former Senator Benigno Aquino, has been in the U.S. since May, when he was released after nearly eight years of detention in a military camp to seek medical treatment abroad. Marcos has so far produced no evidence directly linking the exiles to the April 6 organization's bombing campaign; the arrest orders seemed largely intended to put pressure on his most vocal opponents abroad. Another target may have been the Carter Administration, which has persistently urged Marcos to end martial law, but needs to maintain good relations with him because of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Meanwhile, U.S. officials regard leaders like Aquino as the most promising successors to Marcos.

The bombing will have a jolting, negative impact on Philippine tourism, which is the country's third largest source of foreign exchange earnings ($400 million last year) and is responsible for up to 400,000 Filipino jobs. Whether terrorism will lead to any liberalization of Marcos' rule is problematical. More likely, the April 6 organization's attack will give the President an excuse to postpone his promise to end his longstanding martial law by next March. Last week Marcos warned, "If the bombing continues, I will not lift martial law." ■

Injured ASTA delegates await medical help after bomb explosion at convention in Manila

A "Third Force" proved that the nightmare of political terrorism is not past and gone

SOUTH KOREA

Yes to Chun

Voters approve a constitution

It was the largest electoral turnout in the country's 32 years of independence: 95.5% of South Korea's 20 million eligible voters. And, as expected, nearly 92% of them approved a 131-article draft constitution proposed by President Chun Doo Hwan. It guarantees South Koreans a "democratic welfare state," complete with civil rights, press freedom and carefully defined powers of the presidency—at least on paper.

The strongman

The referendum was the first test of Chun's popularity since he took power last December, shortly after the assassination of President Park Chung Hee. Strongman Chun, a former general, and his U.S.-educated Prime Minister, Nam Duck Woo, worked hard to ensure a heavy voter turnout. Roving "enlightenment teams" explained details of the new constitution at more than 3,600 local meetings. The President would be limited to a single seven-year term, for example; any slide toward dictatorship would be checked by new powers granted to the National Assembly.

At a press conference last week, Chun said that he would dissolve South Korea's existing parties in order to foster a new multiparty system. Having only two parties, he said, resulted in "polarization." The legal reforms include restoration of the writ of habeas corpus. Unfortunately, that comes too late to help Chun's political enemies, like Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung, who is now appealing a death sentence on sedition charges.

Chun admitted that many South Koreans are skeptical of his new-found reformist role. He believes he can reverse the "trend of distrust" by setting a timetable for return to civilian rule. He promised that martial law will be lifted in time for the presidential election in March, a month before a new National Assembly will be chosen

In their yearning for stability, most South Koreans seem ready to accept Chun's ruthless purge of his enemies and his jailing of student leaders. Meanwhile, Chun will continue to push his popular reforms: crackdown on government corruption, reorganization of lagging industries, encouragement of foreign investment. Having made himself South Korea's best —and only—bet since Park's death, Chun is virtually assured of winning the presidency in March. Said one foreign businessman in Seoul after the constitutional vote: "The people know Chun and his government mean business. And you can't gain anything by opposing them." ■

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Terror on Atlanta's South Side

Fourteen black children die or vanish, and police are baffled

"Sometimes," says Teresa Brown, 9, "I get scared and cry." Teresa is not alone. The entire south side of Atlanta, where she lives, is a community gripped by fear. Over the past 15 months, 14 black youngsters, ranging in age from seven to 15, have disappeared. Ten have later been found murdered.

Although the causes of death vary from strangulation to stabbing and bludgeoning, the series of abductions and killings may well be part of some bizarre and mysterious pattern. All but two of the victims were males who were relatively small, generally wore their hair short, and looked younger than their age. Those similarities might suggest a sexual motive, but police say there is no evidence of molestation. There is speculation that the boys were well cared for by their abductor, because some of them had apparently been washed shortly before they were murdered. Such tenuous theories are all that anybody has to go on. At the end of last week, a three-month-old police task force of 24 full-time investigators had not come up with a single solid lead.

It was not for lack of effort. In what Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown calls "the most intensive investigation ever conducted in the history of this city," the Georgia bureau of investigation is pitching in, the FBI is providing national crime-lab facilities, and a psychiatrist at Emory University is trying to develop profiles of the killer or killers. In addition, Atlanta officials have enlisted 450 fire- and policemen in an unprecedented twelve-hour-a-day, door-to-door canvass to ask residents if they have seen anything unusual and give them pictures of the missing children. Says Fireman William Eberhardt: "This way the people see you're involved, and they have a tendency to get into the act themselves." True enough, if the neighborhood searches conducted by residents over the weekends are any indication. More than 600 people took part in the first one, on Oct. 18, which found the skeleton of a seven-year-old victim.

There have been other initiatives as well. A parents' group called the Committee to Stop Children's Murders (Stop) set up shop in June at a local mall, established a 24-hour hotline, and began undertaking some detective work on its own. It receives 20 to 50 calls a day, but not one tip has panned out. Schools are scheduling lessons on street safety taught by visiting police; television coverage has included a film re-enacting some of the crimes; and police fraternal organizations are distributing 100,000 bumper stickers reading: KIDS, DON'T GO WITH STRANGERS. A reward fund contributed by the Atlanta Business League, the local bar association, a radio station, the city council and numerous other Atlanta groups has reached a total of $150,000 and is still growing. Says Commissioner Brown, who is black and himself the worried father of ten-year-old twins: "Somewhere out there, someone has that piece of information we need to break the case."

A measure of how desperate the police are for a breakthrough of any kind is their recruiting of Psychic Dorothy Allison, 55, of Nutley, N.J., who claims to have helped solve 14 murders and locate dozens of missing persons. After Allison arrived in Atlanta last week, she announced that she had formed a mental image and knew the name of a black man who was involved in at least one of the murders: "I see where he is. I follow him." Said Police Chief George Napper: "I'm very hopeful that Mrs. Allison's presence will bring to a quick conclusion the nightmare facing this city." Southsiders were more skeptical. Said Venus Taylor, the mother of a twelve-year-old victim: "She can sleep at night. I can't."

Atlanta fire captain questions a south-side couple as part of the city's door-to-door search

Blacks find it difficult to fight off the suspicion of some ghastly racial vendetta.

Many of Atlanta's blacks find it understandably difficult to fight off the suspicion that the crimes may be part of a ghastly racial vendetta. Earlier this month, when a boiler exploded at a day care center and killed five blacks, Mayor Maynard Jackson had to rush to the scene to assure a crowd of angry and grieving neighborhood residents that there was no evidence of foul play. An investigation later confirmed that the blast was an accident.

The racial concerns are all the harder to dismiss because of what seems to be a nationwide wave of murders of blacks. In Buffalo, two cab drivers had their hearts cut out. Detectives there are also investigating the sniper shootings of four men and seeking a white man who tried to strangle a black hospital patient after telling him, "I hate niggers." The FBI, meanwhile, is hunting for a Southern white named James Vaughn, who is wanted for questioning in connection with similar rifle murders of blacks in five cities and who may be a suspect in the shooting of National Urban League President Vernon Jordan. At the White House, President Carter took note of all these cases in remarks to an audience of 200 black ministers last week. Calling the killers depraved, he said, "People like that and the Ku Klux Klan have got to be caught."

Until the murders are solved, life in places like Atlanta's south side will remain tense. A 90-day curfew bars anyone under 16 from the city's streets between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m.; even in daylight, an unaccompanied child is a rare sight. Mayor Jackson has asked parents to keep their children from trick-or-treating on Halloween—or to accompany them if they go—and Stop is attempting to compensate by planning a party at its headquarters. Children are disappointed, but few question the reasoning, particularly in view of the timing of the past seven out of eight child disappearances. They occurred regularly at intervals of 3½ weeks. Since the last disappearance was reported on Oct. 10, this week will be an especially anxious one for south-side parents. —*By Bennett H. Beach. Reported by Joseph N. Boyce/Atlanta*

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Cutlass Cruiser	18.2	23	418	34	618	Ninety-Eight	27.0	21	567	33	891
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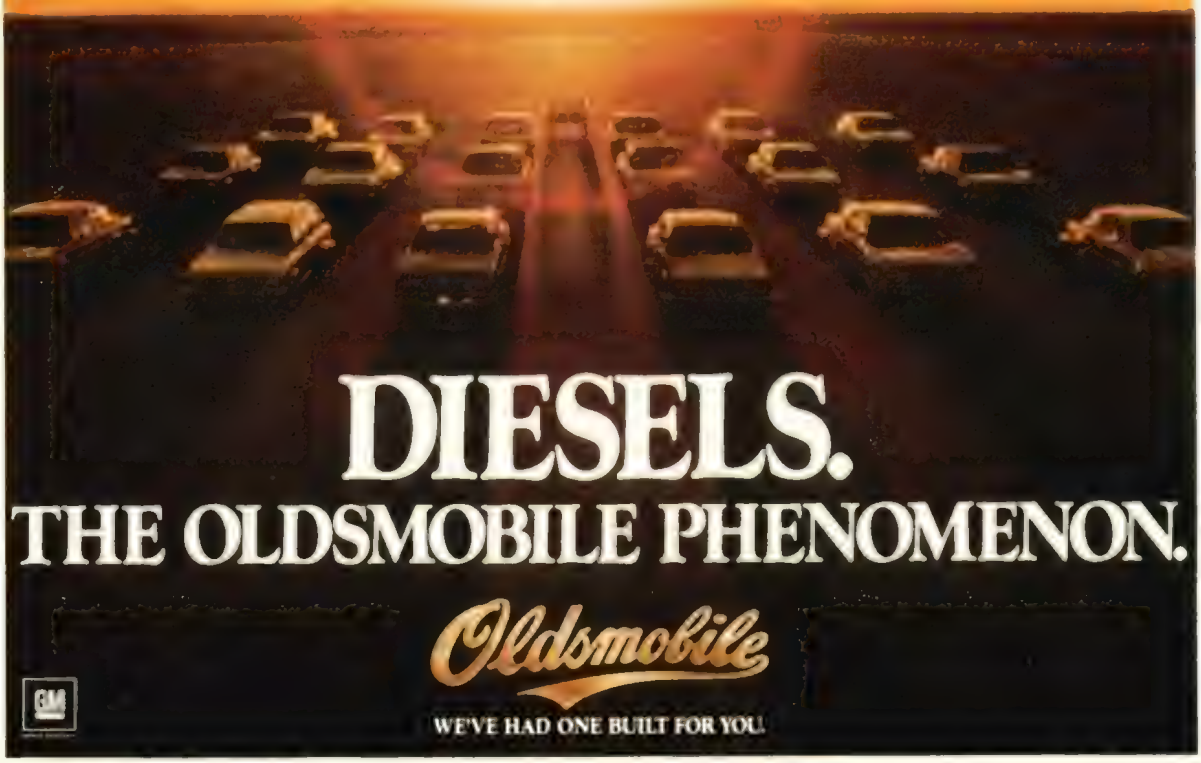

Election Night Razzle-Dazzle

How a network programs its computer to pick the winners

When the last campaign speech has been made and the last voter warned about that other fellow, the candidates, like almost everybody else, will be sitting in front of television sets somewhere next Tuesday night waiting to find out who is in and who is not. That is when a truly ferocious contest begins: the three-way race among network news divisions to call 'em first and get 'em right. In that war, victory belongs to the best "software," or computer program, for picking winners.

CBS Election Night computer operators learning how to record the vote last week in Manhattan

No more wicker baskets, and "it sure beats all that paper piling up all night long"

Tracking races for 435 House seats, 34 senatorial slots and 13 governorships, as well as 51 separate presidential sprints in some 175,000 voting precincts, is an awesome task for any journalist. But things have changed quite a bit since the stone age days of 1960, when all through Election Night at NBC the latest figures were hauled up to the Huntley-Brinkley anchor booth in a wicker basket on a rope.

There are no wicker baskets around this year. Instead, TV viewers will be razzle-dazzled with more computer-generated graphics, more computerized data collection and less finger-in-the-wind speculation than ever before.

What goes into the computers remains a closely guarded secret at all three networks. What comes out of them will be visible starting at 7 p.m. E.S.T. Election Night. At CBS, which is typical of the networks in its election preparations, Walter Cronkite will have three computer screens in front of him on the anchor desk flashing the latest numbers on the presidential race and various other contests. Tight races and those in which CBS has picked a winner will show up with brighter intensity on these screens. Each of the four regional correspondents with him —Dan Rather, Harry Reasoner, Lesley Stahl and Bob Schieffer—will have two computer read-out screens and a small data-processing unit.

The correspondents will have election handbooks as thick as telephone directories briefing them on what to watch in each state, but they can also put questions to the computer, which has been programmed with a vast library of CBS research. Some have taken to the new futuristic consoles more readily than others: Dan Rather, reportedly, revels in them, spending idle hours punching up new information. Cronkite seems a bit wary, though he says, "It sure beats all that paper piling up all night long."

To help the reporters feel at home with the consoles, CBS Election Producer Russ Bensley has been conducting a series of tutorials for the past three weeks. He is also providing them with a 117-page book on how to read their computer screens, which will be teeming with abbreviations, codes and numbers. Candidates' names, for instance, are shortened to three or four letters in tiny type (CART, REAG, AND). Before CBS can call a winner, the computer must call it first; it flashes a *C* next to its choice. If Election and Survey Unit Director Warren Mitofsky concurs with the computer's judgment, a *W* will turn up next to the name. Then the choice will be announced, but not as a "winner." Cautions the handbook: "Winners should be described as 'estimated winners.' Avoid any reference to 'calling' races or 'declaring' winners. Do not refer to estimates as 'projections.' "

How will the computer know what "estimates" to make? Mitofsky, a former Census Bureau statistician, has selected 4,000 key precincts nationwide to show him what is happening in each state. A CBS employee in each of those precincts will phone in results to a bank of computer-terminal operators in a soon-to-be demolished Manhattan warehouse. If this information seems to add up to a clear victory, the computer can flash its *C*.

How will a voter know if he or she lives in a key precinct? One way is to ask poll workers if there is anyone from a network (CBS or NBC) or from the League of Women Voters (ABC) lurking around. In Atlanta, for instance, CBS will station vote reporters in nine precincts. They range from the all-black, heavily Democratic, low-income Precinct 10-T, whose voters will cast their ballots at Turner High School near the Perry Homes Public Housing Project, to Precinct 8-E, with polls at the Margaret Mitchell School on Atlanta's affluent northwest side, white, liberal Republican territory.

Unlike his competitors at NBC and ABC, Mitofsky picks his sample precincts on a strictly statistical basis. Says he: "I don't believe in expert advice and hunches. All I want to know is how many people live there, which party did they support last time around and which county is it in? If my group of precincts reflects these factors in a state, then we will have a pretty good picture of how that state is voting." Mitofsky has made only one bad call at CBS in 13 years: Ford, not Carter, ended up winning Oregon in 1976.

ABC's election-unit whiz, John Thompson, is mystified by Mitofsky's approach. Thompson spends months every year crisscrossing the country, talking to local election officials and learning all he can about each state before picking his precincts. Roy Wetzel, his counterpart at NBC, takes a similar tack. Says Thompson: "Mine is a subjective judgment. I know how to talk to people to get the kind of information I want. Then I put it into the computer."

And what if the computers fail? NBC's entire system did on Election Night 1964, leaving Huntley and Brinkley without any fast facts. In 1976, Mitofsky's terminal had a nervous breakdown halfway through the night. Fortunately, he had a spare. ***—By Janice Castro. Reported by Mary Cronin/New York***

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Publisher Donald Seawell in Denver

New Owner Otis Chandler in Los Angeles

Thunder in the Rockies

A new owner, and new hope, for a once feisty daily

Of all those venerable dailies with presses and family ownership running back to the past century, few can match legends with the Denver *Post*. Founded in 1892, the *Post* really came to life three years later when it was grabbed up by an ex-barkeeper and entrepreneur named Harry Tammen and a rich but tightfisted developer, Fred Bonfils. For the next several decades, the two partners made the *Post* one of the liveliest, if least respected newspapers in the country. Advertisers were bullied, civic leaders were indiscriminately attacked, and readers came to know Publisher Bonfils' homespun creed: "A dogfight in a Denver street is more important than a war in Europe." Yet the formula worked; the afternoon *Post* regularly outsold its morning rival, the *Rocky Mountain News* (now owned by the Scripps-Howard chain). As Tammen liked to say, "We're yellow, but we're read, and we're true blue."

The yellow has paled considerably since the days of "Tam" and "Bon," and so has the *Post's* financial picture. This year, for the first time, the *Post* was overtaken by the *News* in daily circulation, 271,000 to 260,000. Worse, pretax profits for the first eight months of 1980 plummeted to $78,000, from $3.6 million for the same period in 1979. Finally, because of a tangled financial scheme originally designed by a Bonfils heir to prevent the paper from falling into outsiders' hands, even those slim profits have been drained off to support part of Denver's new cultural center. *Post* Publisher Donald Seawell, 68, has long insisted that the paper was in great shape, but his reporters were not so sure, especially after the *Post* was put on the market five months ago.

Last week the *Post* gained a new owner, and new hope for halting its long decline. The Times Mirror Co. scooped up the paper for $95 million. It thus beat out the Washington Post Co.; Oil Millionaire Marvin Davis, 55; independent Media Mogul Karl Eller, 52; and others eager for a stake in the fast-growing, energy-rich Denver market. Times Mirror had revenues of $1.6 billion last year from a variety of communications businesses (cable TV, magazines, book publishing). The firm also owns seven newspapers, including the Dallas *Times Herald* and Long Island's *Newsday*. But Times Mirror is best known as owner of the Los Angeles *Times* (circ. 1,013,000), which under Publisher Otis Chandler, 52, has gained a reputation for spending lavishly to maintain editorial excellence.

At the *Post*, the second-floor city room exploded with war whoops and cheers when Editor William Hornby, 57, gave his staff the news. Said one reporter: "The alternatives were so dismal: a businessman or a bunch of bankers. They might have turned us into an office building." Exclaimed one of his colleagues: "Now we can really start newspapering again!"

Publisher Seawell called the Times Mirror "the best possible purchaser," adding, "I'm delighted with their enthusiasm. So many of our problems will be solved." Foremost among those problems has been the high cost of newsprint; Times Mirror Co. has plentiful supplies. And without the financial encumbrance of the Bonfils foundations, the *Post* may well return to those thrilling days when its profits, and its spirits, were Rocky Mountain high. ■

UNESCurbs

A "new order" for news

From morning to nearly midnight, Third World delegates to the 152-nation meeting of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Belgrade vented their complaints against the Western press, demanding a "new information order" that would give them greater control over international reporting of their affairs. Last week the Third World nations used their numerical superiority in UNESCO to move that new order closer to reality.

U.S. and Western European delegates objected vehemently to the idea that UNESCO ought to establish standards for news operations. The U.S. representative, Stanford University Professor Elie Abel, told the conference that UNESCO should not become "an international nanny." Nonetheless, UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal was authorized to begin "promptly" studying "basic principles" for a new order.

Also approved were several controversial UNESCO research projects on the press, including studies into advertising and media financing, codes of press ethics and measures to "protect" journalists, a euphemism for licensing them. Those undertakings are favored by advocates of the new order but are seen by critics as threats to press freedom.

In the long and sometimes bitter negotiations in Belgrade, U.S. and European representatives successfully stood their ground on two important points. One involved funding and control of UNESCO's newly established International Program for the Development of Communication. This organization will help channel Western communications assistance (both governmental and private) in the communications field to Third World countries. In a compromise resolution on UNESCO's much debated MacBride report—a global communications study by a panel of experts under the chairmanship of former Irish Prime Minister Sean MacBride—the West also fought off Third World attempts to exploit the report's bias toward government control as a basis for restricting the international news media.

Still, not all Western delegations were happy with that compromise and the MacBride report itself had moved one British speaker to recount the story of the Anglican curate who sits down to breakfast with his bishop and finds an obviously bad egg on his plate. When the bishop offers to replace it, the curate, trying not to offend his host, protests: "Oh no, my lord. I do assure you, it is excellent in parts." The Western press may likewise find the new information order, as UNESCO seems likely to serve it up, good only in parts—and hence unpalatable as a whole. ■

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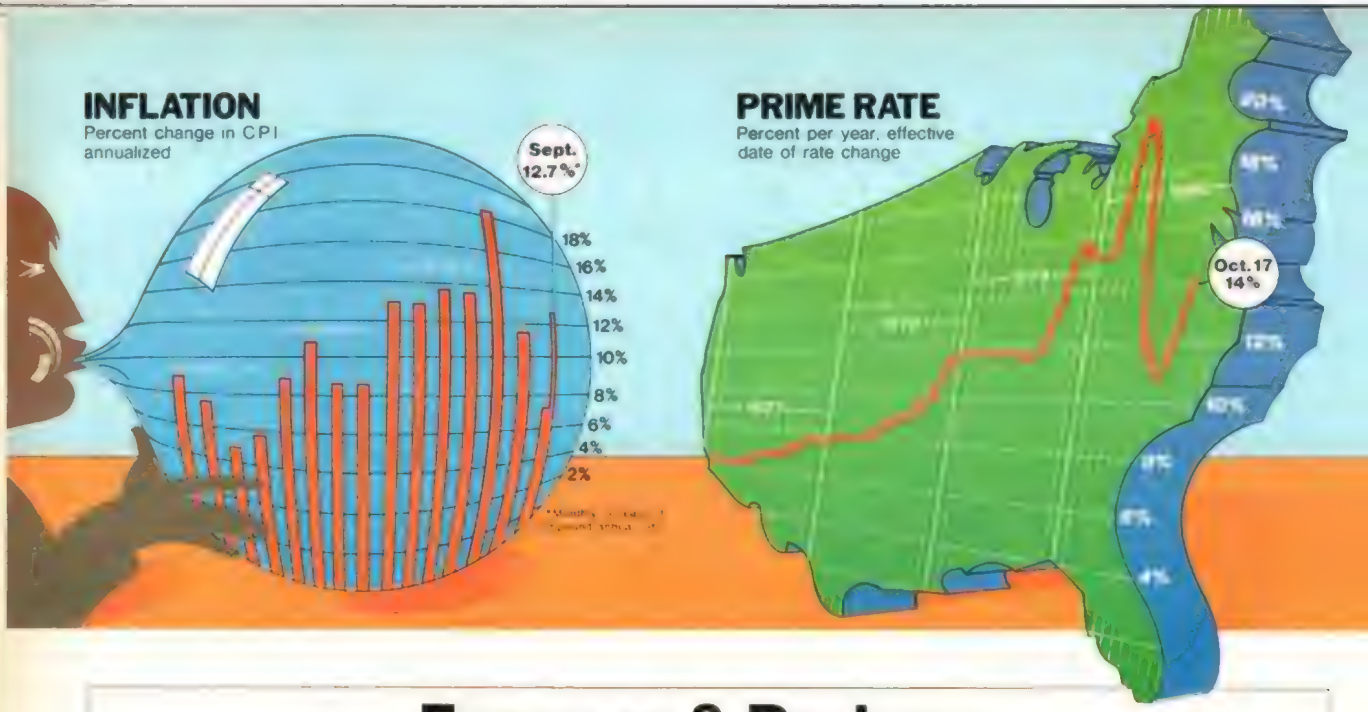


Economy & Business

The Pre-Election Pulse

Among some healthy-looking numbers, a sad September surprise on prices

During his campaign stop in slump-plagued Youngstown, Ohio, last week, Jimmy Carter pointed to a batch of upbeat statistics and happily assured a group of steelworkers that the battered U.S. economy is "recovering very well." But only four days later, and with little more than a week remaining in Campaign '80, the Government itself reported a shocker that was sure to keep the President's economic stewardship a prime concern of voters on Nov. 4—and push inflation squarely onto center stage again as the nation's No. 1 problem.

After five months of decline, which brought the rise in consumer prices down from a peak of 18.2% in January, February and March to 8.7% in August, the inflation rate did a power turn in September and hurtled right back up into double digits. During the month, prices rose by 1%, which was the highest increase since June and translates into a compound annual inflation rate of 12.7%. The surge was led by food prices, which are climbing partly as a result of the damage wrought by the summer drought on crops and livestock herds. The cost of cars also jumped sharply, as did that of clothes and health care.

While the inflationary spurt was not entirely unexpected—early last week one top White House economic aide was already telling newsmen that the new numbers could "look bad for us"—it will raise fresh doubts about the policies espoused by both Carter and Ronald Reagan. In his effort to spread cheer about the pre-election economy, the President declared that "the severe recession that we anticipated has not been nearly so severe as we thought." In fact, the Administration had purposefully tipped the economy into recession in order to curb the runaway rise in prices. Yet, as the September figures made plain, the tactic has failed.

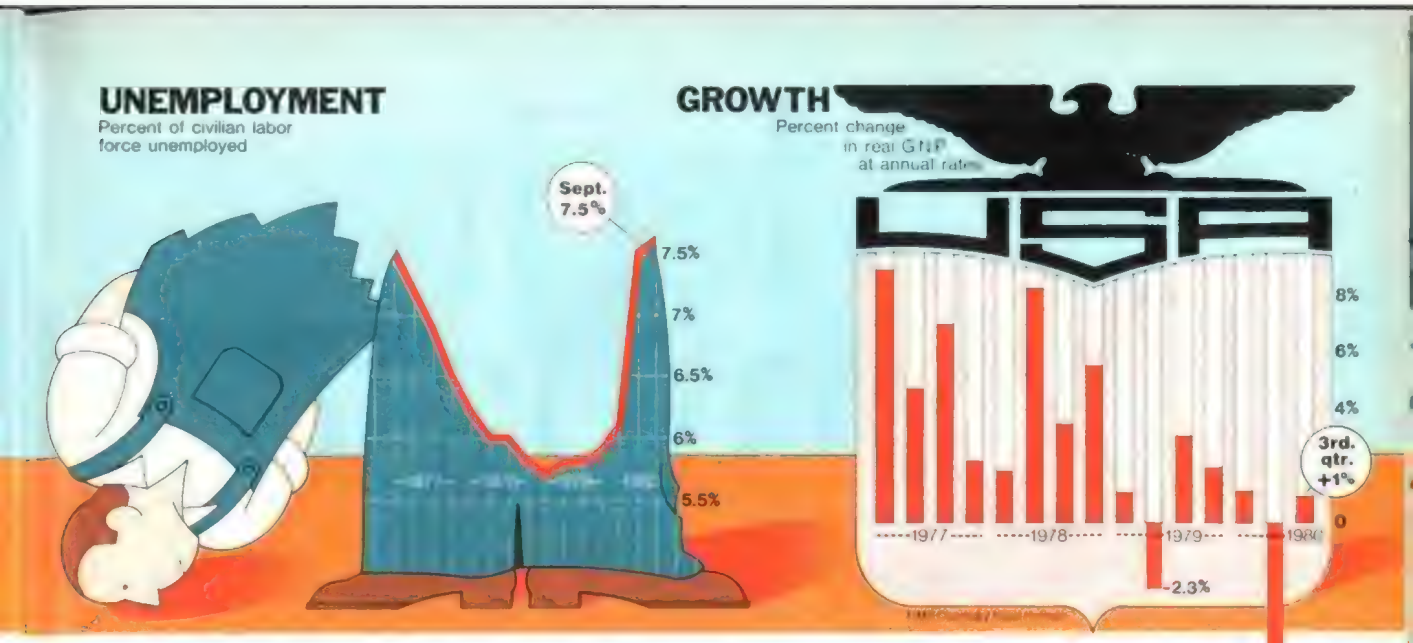
As for Reagan, he latched onto the bad inflation news to defend his own economic crowd pleaser: a $36 billion 1981 tax cut that more than a few economists fear could intensify the price spiral. Reagan had begun talking up a tax cut last winter and spring when the economy started plunging into recession. But in his 30-minute televised economic address late last week, he attacked the President for permitting a near doubling in the so-called misery index *(see box)* that Carter had badgered Gerald Ford with during the 1976 campaign, and argued in effect that big new cuts would now curb inflation as well as unemployment.

Instead of drawing to a close against a backdrop of lengthening unemployment lines and deepening recession, as Democrats had feared and Republicans had expected, the campaign is climaxing with the economy perking up again. After a spring and summer of wary hesitation, consumers are starting to spend again and retail sales are inching up. A July-through-September survey of 1,600 top executives by New York's Conference Board research group shows business confidence itself to be improving.

Though few businessmen or bankers anticipate very much more than a sluggish and lackluster year ahead, most regard even that as an improvement over what might have been. Reports George Cloos, economist for the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago: "There is not the gloom and despair that existed last spring. Some of the fear is gone."

As business confidence has improved, investment has begun to pick up. A key indicator is spending for durable goods such as heavy machinery, building materials, and transportation and construction equipment, which rose 8.1% in September, following August's 3.5% decline.

The unemployment picture has also begun to brighten. Normally, jobless rates continue to climb for many months after a slump bottoms out. But unemployment in the current downturn eased from a July peak of 7.8% to 7.5% in September, the lowest since April. Meanwhile, Commerce Department figures show that the economy as a whole expanded at an annual rate of 1% during July, August and September. Whether or not that poky growth can be taken as proof that the recession has passed, it does represent a sharp turn-around from the previous three



months, when the nation's output of goods and services plunged at a record annual rate of 9.6%.

In fact, however, the economy is nowhere nearly so healthy as such statistics suggest. Observes Irwin Kellner, chief economist for New York's Manufacturers Hanover Trust, in a grimly appropriate metaphor: "Even someone who falls off a 15-story building bounces a little bit when he hits the sidewalk."

Though the week-to-week figures have been encouraging, the underlying distortions and weaknesses in the economy have, if anything, grown worse in the course of the 1980 downturn. Says James Solloway of the Argus Research Corp., a private economic study group: "We got through the recession without solving any of the big problems. We still have very high inflation, very volatile money markets, lagging productivity and very deeply entrenched inflationary expectations." What is more, economists now fear that the recovery could fizzle out altogether in early 1981, sending the economy stumbling back into recession all over again, no matter who is President.

The uncertain direction of the economy stands in ironic contrast to the similarly unsettled conditions that prevailed during Carter's first presidential drive in 1976. At that time, the immediate outlook suggested not the illusion of stable recovery and growth that now prevails, but an equally unreal threat of an approaching slump. Indeed, economists who worked for Gerald Ford at the time complain bitterly that misleading and later revised figures for August, September and October 1976 may have cost him the election by allowing Carter to warn of an imminent downturn under the Republicans. In fact, within three months after Carter's Inauguration, the economy was expanding so briskly on its own that the President was forced to abandon his idea for a quickie $50 tax rebate.

The most immediate threat to the economy this time around is the renewed climb in interest rates, which dropped during the spring and early summer but have once again begun marching upward. High interest rates reduce the willingness of consumers to go into debt, and that spells big trouble not only for manufacturers of major household appliances such as dishwashers and refrigerators, but even more so for homebuilders and automakers, who together account one way or another for about 20% of G.N.P.

Businessmen and bankers alike are being hurt by rising interest rates. But the loudest complaining of all came last week from a Carter official who has endeared himself to neither group: Treasury Secretary G. William Miller. He alternately lashed out at the nation's bankers for setting what he termed "artificially high" rates and castigated Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker for being too zealous in his yearlong struggle to curb inflation by gaining effective control of the nation's money supply. Complained Miller revealingly to reporters last week about the Federal Reserve's latest moves to hold the lid on money growth: "Why can't they hesitate for a week or two?"—that is, until after the election.

With that kind of politics-as-usual attitude coming from a ranking member of the Carter Cabinet, it is small wonder that the Administration's inflation fight has faltered, or that prices just keep heading up and up. *—By Christopher Byron. Reported by William Blaylock/Washington and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York*

Trying to Measure Misery

The misery index that Jimmy Carter first referred to during the 1976 campaign, and that Ronald Reagan keeps citing in his attacks on the President, was concocted during the 1973-75 recession by the late economist Arthur Okun, who called it the discomfort index. He saw it as a puckish way to spotlight the nation's economic ills. The measure is simply the sum of the inflation and jobless rates. On Election Day of 1976 the index stood at 12.8%, with inflation at 5% and unemployment at 7.8%. The rate has climbed to 20% during Carter's White House years. But does that mean that life is nearly twice as miserable as four years ago? Hardly. Personal income has also risen during the period, thereby easing inflation's squeeze on buying power.

Reagan says that things have grown so unbearable that even the misery index is inadequate to measure the economic pain people now feel under Carter. He proposes a "family suffering index," which adds to unemployment the annual rate of increase in the costs of mortgages, gasoline and food. The F.S.I. stands at 77%, more than triple the level that prevailed when Carter took office. Arresting as it is, however, Reagan's yardstick has no more genuine economic validity than redefining the consumer price index so as to include only those items that go up the steepest.

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MERIT low tar/good taste combination scores convincing 3 to 1 victory over high tar leaders.

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Latest research proves smokers *prefer* MERIT.

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Kings: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—100's Reg: 10 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine—100's Men: 11 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec.'79

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

MERIT

Kings & 100's

Textile workers in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., joyfully voting to approve contract

Stevens Accord

Semi-cease-fire in the South

"Everybody stood up, held both hands, and was waving and yelling." So said Gladys Wright, a cloth inspector at a J.P. Stevens & Co. mill in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., describing the scene last week in the local high school's auditorium. Allowed to vote as a result of a hard-fought union-management agreement, 900 Stevens employees unanimously approved the first collective-bargaining contract between the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the nation's No. 2 textile maker, which has led labor's enemies list for nearly two decades. Stevens workers in three other cities ratified similar contracts.

Although the agreement covers only ten of Stevens' 80 plants and just 3,500 of its 32,000 production workers, it is a union victory. Under the deal, which came just before the Supreme Court let stand a National Labor Relations Board order permitting the A.C.T.W.U. to organize inside Stevens' plants, the company will pay about $3 million to workers in Roanoke Rapids in compensation for wage hikes withheld for the past 15 months. The A.C.T.W.U. also won promotion by seniority, a checkoff for union dues, better grievance procedures and arbitration of disputes. While the union may extend the contract to other Stevens plants where it wins elections or is declared bargaining agent by court order, it agreed not to recruit on company property for 18 months. The union also ended its four-year boycott of Stevens products and its campaign of corporate harassment of the company.

Unions have fared poorly in the South, where only 10% to 15% of the 655,000 textile workers are organized. The textile union chose Stevens as its prime target for organization in 1963. The company fought back so hard that the NLRB cited it 22 times for violations of federal labor rules, and in 1977 a New York court branded it "the most notorious recidivist in the field of labor law." Stevens' image was also bruised by the 1979 film *Norma Rae*, which was about the drive to organize Stevens workers in Roanoke Rapids.

When the union's boycott of the company proved ineffective—Stevens last year earned a record $47.7 million on revenues of $1.8 billion—the A.C.T.W.U. also launched a corporate harassment campaign that turned out to be very potent. Devised by Raymond Rogers, 36, a former VISTA worker, the strategy aimed at isolating Stevens from the business community. Rogers scored his first coup in 1978; that was when the Manufacturers Hanover bank dropped two of its directors who were also Stevens directors, following a threat by many unions to withdraw more than $1 billion in pension and other funds they had on deposit at the institution. Six months later the New York Life Insurance Co. decided to remove Stevens Chairman James Finley from its board, after the A.C.T.W.U. threatened to run its own candidates for the board seats held by Finley and New York Life Chairman R. Manning Brown Jr. When the agreement between the union and Stevens was signed, Rogers was preparing assaults on three other companies with Stevens connections: Sperry Corp., J.C. Penney and Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

Current Stevens Chairman Whitney Stevens, great-great-grandson of the firm's founder, claimed that the settlement was actually a win for Stevens because wages and benefits in the unionized factories will be no higher than in the company's other plants; in those, the average weekly pay is $226, or somewhat above the $202 average for all U.S. textile workers. But A.C.T.W.U. President Murray Finley is unimpressed by Stevens' talk of triumph: "The company can say whatever it wants about winning—but why were those 900 people cheering?" ■

Honda Discord

A spat over union hats

In Japan, where loyalty to the corporation is almost a state religion, every factory employee from the manager on down puts on a uniform bearing his firm's logo before checking in each day. The aim is to make workers feel like members of a team, on the theory that this boosts productivity. Unlike many Japanese ideas, however, the notion of mandatory company duds may not be all that exportable.

The concept worked fine for a while at the 13-month-old Honda motorcycle plant in Marysville, Ohio, where all 200 employees wear the company's white overalls. But on May 16 a maintenance man decided to embellish the standard wardrobe with a United Auto Workers baseball cap. Plant officials promptly made him remove it and issued a flat ban on noncompany hats on the ground that allowing them would impair "the Honda working environment." Union buttons were forbidden too because they might damage production-line paintwork.

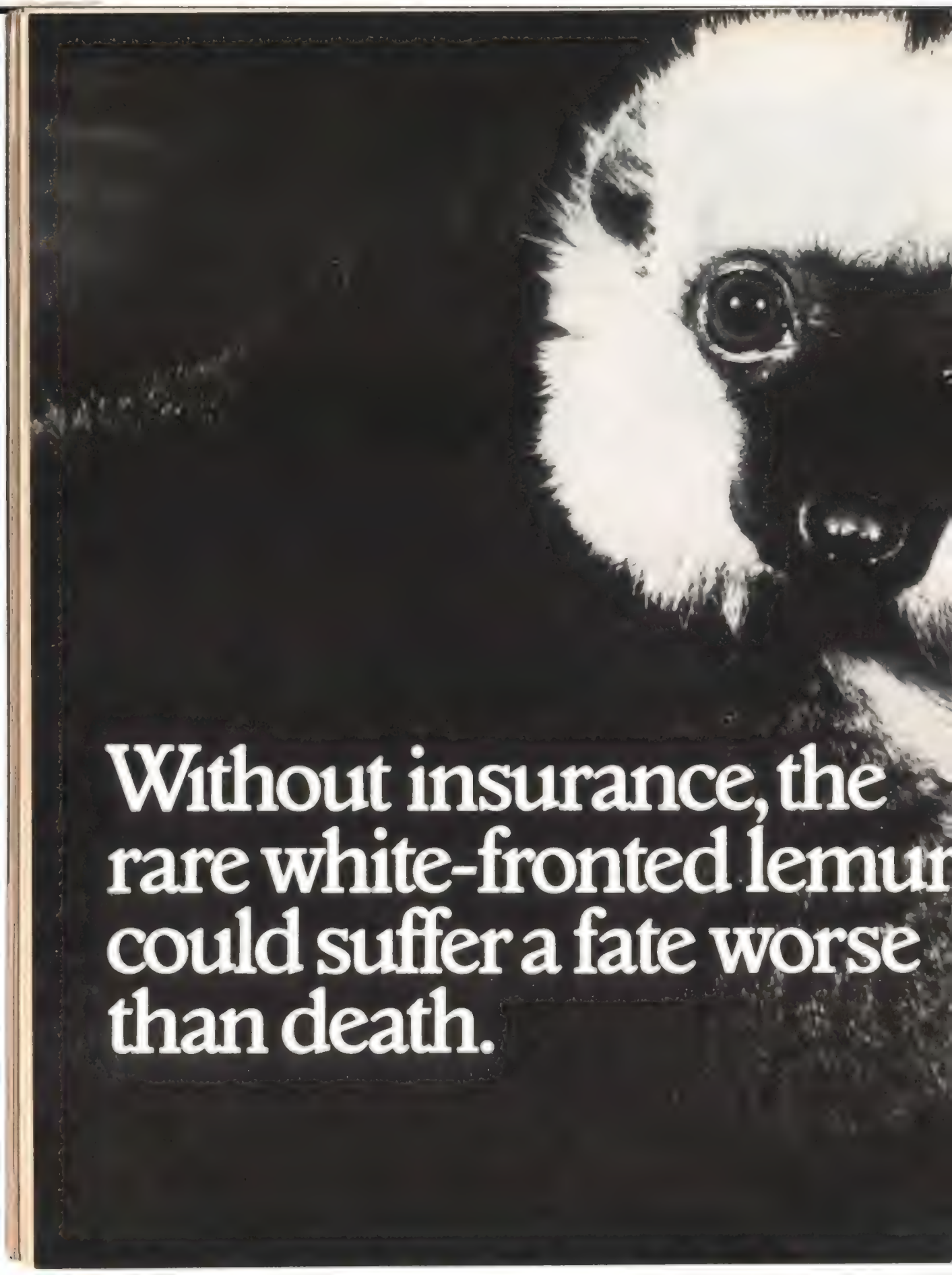
The episode enraged U.A.W. officials, who have been frustrated in their efforts to organize workers at other Japanese facilities in the U.S. The U.A.W. complained to the National Labor Relations Board, charging that Honda's dress code was being used to block union organizing efforts. The U.A.W. also objects to Honda's habit of calling its employees "associates," complaining that this is intended to blur labor-management distinctions in the workers' minds.

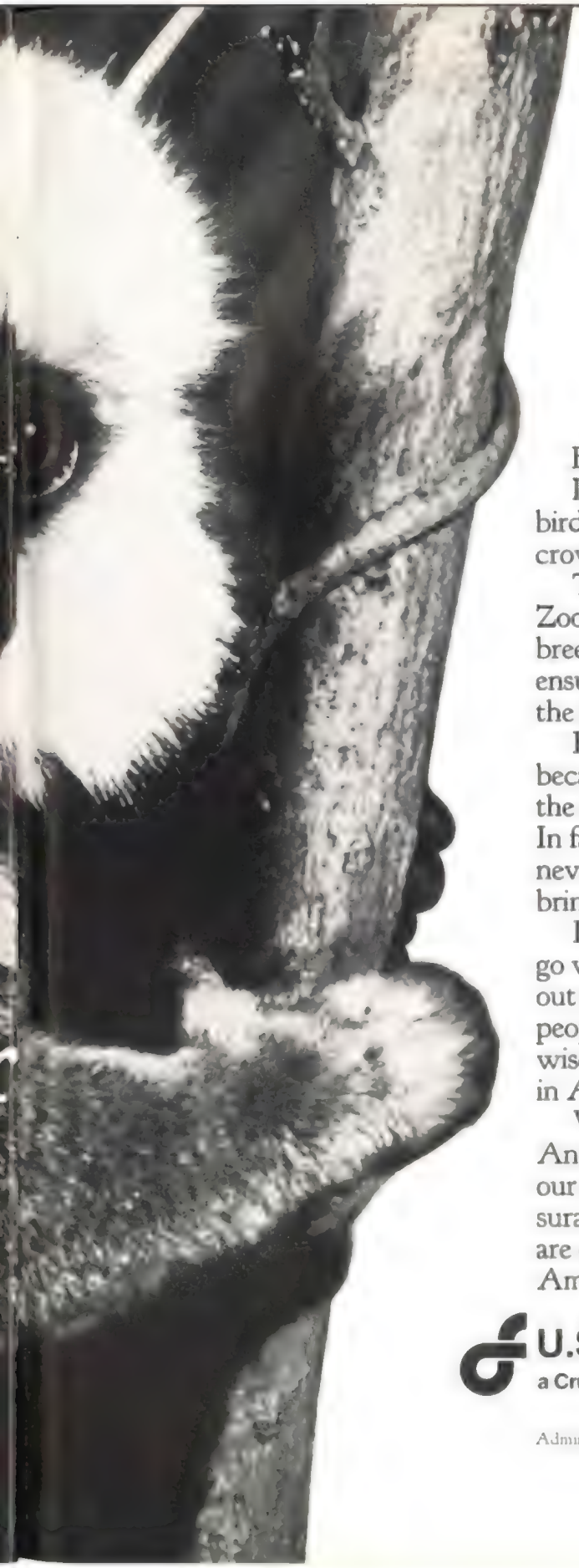
Banned cap

Proper topper

Honda executives say they are not anti-union. They point out that auto plants in Japan are fully unionized and that Japanese assembly plants in other countries are usually organized. Says Marysville Plant Manager Shige Yoshida: "We are not violating any laws or interfering with our associates' rights. We simply want to maintain the quality of the products."

Perhaps, but U.A.W. officials believe that the Japanese are determined to keep their U.S. plants non-union, fearing that organization might make Honda's management style unworkable. The U.A.W. and Honda are not taking the hat-and-button battle lightly, nor is the NLRB, which is trying to mediate the dispute. The outcome could affect the U.A.W.'s hopes of unionizing a much bigger prize: a 2,000-worker plant to be built in Marysville, where Honda aims to turn out 10,000 Accords monthly by 1983. ■


Without insurance, the
rare white-fronted lemur
could suffer a fate worse
than death.



Extinction.

It could happen to many of the animals, birds, and reptiles in today's overcrowded world.

That's why scientists at the San Diego Zoo are working on programs to breed endangered species in captivity. To ensure that they won't go the way of the dinosaur.

Insurance helps make this possible... because without it, no zoo could afford the risks involved in its many activities. In fact, without insurance, you might never get to enjoy a lot of things that bring you closer to nature.

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Tampon Tussle

Fallout from the TSS shock

Cars, tires, soup and other items have been pulled off the market for reasons of consumer safety. But rarely, if ever, has an entire industry had to deal with the problem faced by the makers of tampons: a product that is widely used, worth tens of millions in sales and profits, and is now shadowed by concern about possible disease-causing properties.

The drama began in June, when researchers at the U.S. Center for Disease Control in Atlanta determined that a disorder called toxic shock syndrome (TSS) was related to women's use of tampons. In September Procter & Gamble's popular Rely tampon was identified as the brand most closely associated with the illness, and within days the company withdrew it from sale. Then some tampon makers voluntarily began running newspaper ads describing the health hazards linked with the product.

Shelves stocked with popular brands: so far, more concern among the makers than the users

Last week the Food and Drug Administration proposed a caution that all tampon packages may soon have to carry. It says, "Warning: Tampons have been associated with toxic shock syndrome, a rare disease that can be fatal. You can almost entirely avoid the risk of getting this disease by not using tampons. You can reduce the risk by using tampons on and off during your period." Users are also urged to see a doctor if they develop a fever, vomiting or diarrhea during their periods.

Since 1975 there have been more than 400 reported cases of TSS, which is caused by the common *Staphylococcus aureus* bacterium and occurs primarily in menstruating women under 30. While fatalities have been few—only 40 have been recorded—the revelations about TSS disturbed tampon makers, who have built a market of 50 million regular users. First marketed in 1936 by Tampax, which had bought the patents for the product from the Colorado doctor who invented it, tampons are big business. All told, sanitary products account for roughly $800 million of the $10 billion spent each year on medical devices, and sales of tampons have pulled even with those of the older, clumsier napkins.

While Tampax, which makes only tampons, remains the industry leader, it has been pressed by four marketing giants that entered the field later: Procter & Gamble, Playtex, Kimberly-Clark, and Johnson & Johnson. The powerhouse among them was P & G. Armed with the marketing muscle it has as the nation's largest seller of bar soaps and shampoo, the company propelled its Rely brand to 20% of total tampon sales by last August.

It is an old retailing axiom that the company whose products command the most space on store shelves leads at the cash register, and giant P & G generally has more space than its rivals. The competitor that suffered most from P & G's push for Rely was Tampax, whose market share slid from 52% to 40% as Rely's grew. Playtex tampons, Kimberly-Clark's Kotex and Johnson & Johnson's o.b. also lost ground to Rely.

When the TSS scare hit, P & G was believed to have trademarked the Rely name to be used on a new minipad napkin that the company was expected to launch this year. The Rely withdrawal will not badly hurt P & G financially, since tampons accounted for less than 1% of the company's $10.8 billion in sales. The remaining makers cannot tell as yet how the TSS tempest will affect them. But it could turn out that in the case of tampons, consumers are less concerned about product safety than the manufacturers. Says a spokesman for Star Market, a New England supermarket chain: "Rely came off the shelf as soon as the TSS reports surfaced. But so far there has been no drop in the sales of other brands."

Company ads suggest that women concerned about contracting TSS might change their tampons more frequently —which of course means they will have to buy more. Unless the incidence of TSS grows alarmingly, all the makers should benefit from Rely's departure. The betting in the industry, however, is that P & G will be back eventually with a safe new product under a new name and that its supremacy on the store shelves will prove itself again. ■

The Third Man Theme

Will two in the cockpit do?

Two pilots in a commercial jet are company, but do three make a crowd? For years airlines and pilots have bickered over the number of people who should be in the cockpit. In the 1930s, planes like Boeing's Flying Boat had five: a pilot, co-pilot, navigator, radio operator and mechanic. With improved technology, the count generally dwindled to three. But airlines and planemakers have long argued that only a pilot and co-pilot are needed.

Now Boeing, the largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft, has weighed in with statistics showing that two-member crews on planes like its own 737 or McDonnell Douglas' DC-9 have better safety records than the standard three-person complement flying most other planes. One reason, says Boeing: the extraneous third person can sometimes distract the other two at critical moments.

The 33,000-member Air Line Pilots Association (A.L.P.A.) strenuously insists that the third person provides a needed margin of safety, much like a second engine or a back-up hydraulic system.

Angered by the Federal Aviation Administration's approval of a two-person crew for one new craft, the 155-passenger DC-9 Super 80, A.L.P.A. pilots last week picketed the White House to show their frustration with the agency and its handling of the cockpit-manning question. Left to its own devices, the FAA would almost certainly give the green light to two-member crews for the forthcoming Boeing 767 and 757 airliners, which will each seat about 200 passengers. But for now, longer-range jumbo jets like the 747 or the DC-10, which accommodate 300 to 400, are likely to continue flying with three in the cockpit. ■

Pilot pickets at White House last week

Bickering since the flying boat days.

A future President should be announced
with more than a cigar.

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Please help.

US SKI TEAM

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There are few vodkas worthy of ice made with the finest natural water.

But after tasting Finlandia® Vodka, you'll know why it's one that is.

People who experience the clean, icy character of Finlandia, consider it to be the finest vodka in the world.

One reason may be the water Finlandia is made with. It's 100% natural, drawn from a well beneath a 10,000-year-old glacial formation in Finland.

Which is why when serving Finlandia on ice, it would be a pity to undo in a second what it took nature 10,000 years to help create.

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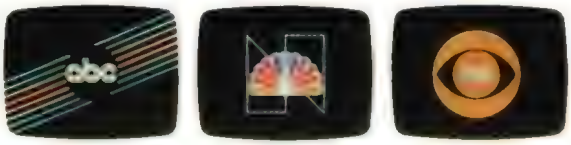
When you buy Scotch, you buy the same brand all three networks use. And the networks are pretty picky about their video tape. They demand a sharp, bright picture with brilliant, true color. That's why they all use Scotch.

Those are good reasons for you to use Scotch in your home recorder. Scotch Videocassettes are specially formulated and engineered to give you all the



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So when you record at home, use the brand the networks use—Scotch. You'll get a sharp picture, true color and—best of all—$4.00 back.

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"Flying Club Class" is like visiting my club in London."

We can't promise you leather armchairs and a cozy fire in the grate. Still, our Club Class is rather like a friendly, private club. There's a separate check-in to welcome you. And a quiet, reserved cabin on board, where the drinks, dear fellow member, are on us. (There is, alas, a modest charge for champagne.)

Join the British Revolution. We'll take more care of you.

Join the British Revolution

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VSOP
Fine Champagne
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The Brandy of Napoleon
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COURVOISIER VSOP. THE BRANDY OF NAPOLEON

Booze on sale in the open black market

Defiant Saigon

Free enterprise lives

More than five years after the fall of Saigon brought South Viet Nam under the banner of socialism, private enterprise survives there. Indeed, the free-market system that Hanoi vowed to crush accounts for 60% of the South's economic activity. Out of necessity, the regime has tacitly accepted the fondness that the entrepreneurial Saigonese have for profits—and even the still treasured U.S. dollar. Following a visit to what is now officially called Ho Chi Minh City, TIME *Correspondent David DeVoss filed this report*

Early one morning in March 1978, residents of Saigon were jolted awake by something eerily reminiscent of the city's "liberation" three years before: the growl of tanks on the broad boulevards. This time, the goal of Hanoi's forces was to stamp out capitalist trade in the Cholon business district. Squads of Communist Youth League zealots searched every shop and warehouse. Merchandise was seized; stores were padlocked. Employers of more than five people were denounced as exploiters of the working class. Family-run produce markets were allowed to stay in business—but only if they held their profit margins to 10%.

Over the next year, competing entrepreneurs were ordered to form collectives, and longtime-resident Chinese traders were advised to flee altogether. The regime dealt with rising unemployment by packing some 250,000 people off to rural work camps called "new economic zones."

Yet Hanoi did not break the market economy. Small merchants gradually returned to Saigon to sell their wares, even though they had to do so on the streets and bribe local officials for the privilege. By last year the regime had abandoned its aim of completely crushing Saigon's entrepreneurial spirit.

Today street vendors sell wares that on any given day may include French bicycles, Australian butter and Japanese beer—all at princely prices. A single can of root beer may fetch $6, a carton of cigarettes $140. The main source of the imports is an Air France flight that arrives every Friday from Bangkok with 45 tons of cargo. Vietnamese who live abroad but still have relatives back home send a steady stream of packages loaded with food, clothing or medicine that can be quickly sold on the black market.

Shoppers looking over housewares and utensils being sold by private entrepreneurs

Also French bicycles, Australian butter and other exotic imports, all at princely prices

During the war, Saigon became hooked on the inflow of U.S. dollars, and now the city is broke. More than 25% of the 3 million residents have no job. Says one high official: "Saigon needs $200 million a year to survive. The money should come from Hanoi, but this year Hanoi sent only $100 million and suggested we find the balance wherever we could."

To attract needed dollars, the government is resorting to vintage capitalist incentives. Saigonese with dollar accounts abroad who repatriate their wealth are rewarded with access to duty-free stores that sell imported goods. Citizens who receive dollars from relatives overseas can exchange them for Vietnamese dong at a premium rate. Businesses that make products for international trade are allowed to receive or spend dollars and gold freely. Explains one government adviser: "We don't care where the dollars come from as long as they are used to import raw materials and create new jobs." Saigon is also welcoming investment from Western nations. In partnership with Viet Nam's Ministry of Health, the French chemical firm Rhône-Poulenc has invested $500,000 in a factory where 120 Saigonese produce vitamin C, aspirin and cough syrup.

Saigon factory workers are being paid more than their counterparts in Hanoi, in hopes that this edge will boost productivity. Says Le Van Ban, manager of a cooperative that makes knives and razors: "In this city, the best bonus you can give is money."

Incentives are sorely needed. Viet Nam's economic growth rate is under 2%. The exodus of "boat people" refugees left severe labor shortages. Factories are falling apart. All homes and businesses forgo electricity one day each week so that more oil will be available for the war in neighboring Kampuchea. A year ago, the gasoline ration was three liters a month; now it is four liters every three months. The Soviet Union contributes about $5 million a day in economic assistance, but its value is limited. Explains a Vietnamese economist: "You can't buy American technology or Canadian wheat with rubles." Some of Moscow's aid benefits mostly the U.S.S.R. One Saigon factory tailored 500,000 pairs of blue jeans for the Soviets. Unaware of what jeans cost, the Vietnamese agreed to be paid a mere 50¢ per pair.

As conditions continue to deteriorate, the spirit of defiance in Saigon grows. The Saigonese may not be able to shape Viet Nam's economic development to their liking, but they are far enough away from Hanoi to be able to chart their own path. The broken remnants of the city's old bourgeoisie often gather at dusk along the Saigon River's Bach Dang Quay to watch the unloading of rusty freighters and talk business. They have endured, and they still hope some day to prosper once again. ■

Before you vote.

After all the talk, all the charges, all the political proposals of this year's presidential campaign, it makes sense to do one final thing before you vote: Look at the facts... compare the actual records of the two candidates for President... and, based on their past and current performance, determine who offers the most promising future for America.

What Carter didn't do as President.

Here are some of the things that Jimmy Carter said he would do if elected President, but which he didn't do:

☐ He didn't control the inflation rate—it's 12% today.

☐ He didn't hold down taxes—taxes from all sources have increased by more than 70%.

☐ He didn't balance the budget—this year's budget deficit is the biggest in U.S. history.

☐ He didn't bring down interest and mortgage rates—both have soared much higher than when he took office.

☐ He didn't keep his promise to "never use unemployment" to fight inflation—today nearly 8 million are unemployed, more than when he took office.

☐ He said he would never weaken America's defense forces—but today, 7 of 10 U.S. Army Divisions and 7 of 13 aircraft carriers are not combat-ready.

What Reagan did as Governor.

When Ronald Reagan became Governor of California, the State had a $194 million deficit, and when he left office there was a $554 million surplus.

A skyrocketing welfare program, running out of control, was reorganized with the result that 300,000 ineligibles were dropped from the rolls, while the truly needy had their benefits increased by more than 40%.

The year he entered office, the State's Medicaid program was in the red. The very next year it was in the black.

Even while holding the annual increase in the administrative cost of government to a mere 1.9%, Governor Reagan was able to implement a property tax relief program of $2.4 billion... a school district rollback tax of $550 million... a $214 million property tax relief program for senior citizens ... a $230 million income tax relief program for renters... a one-time $335 million sales tax reduction ... and income tax rebates amounting to $720 million.

In addition, he increased scholarships to

needy students by 500%, aid to the State University by 105%, the State College system by 164%, the Community Colleges by 323%, and primary and secondary systems by 105%.

If California were a nation, it would be the seventh largest economic power in the world. For 8 years, Ronald Reagan was Governor of California. The kind of Governor he was says a good deal about the kind of President he will be.

What Reagan will do as President.

As President, Ronald Reagan will assemble the finest team of people to help him implement his *comprehensive* economic program.

He will phase in tax-rate cuts, and couple them with common sense control over government spending. He will also place an immediate freeze on federal hiring, and act to cut out billions of dollars of waste in government.

For senior citizens, he will act decisively to strengthen the Social Security system and improve the quality of health care.

For unemployed workers, he will sponsor job retraining programs, while working to achieve the type of economic growth that can create *new* jobs—always aware that economic growth is the only *real* answer to the unemployment problem.

For families, he will act to transfer, wherever possible, federal programs back to State and local governments—along with the tax sources to pay for them—so more effective progress can be made in the areas of neighborhood preservation, educational quality, and improved housing.

For women, there will be strong support for equal rights and opportunities in the key areas of greatest concern—the employment area, to name just one.

Peace is key.

As President, Ronald Reagan will work for peace by combining three essential requirements into a foreign policy that will not only gain the peace but *maintain* the peace. They are:

☐ The revival of America's economy to the level of strength it used to enjoy—a necessity because any nation that is internally weak cannot hope to have a foreign policy that is strong.

☐ The restoration of America's defense capability to the point where there is once again a margin of safety, and the all-important ability to deter precisely those aggressive, adventurous actions in the world that threaten the peace.

☐ The establishment of much closer ties with our allies, and a system of much more frequent communication with our adversaries. There must always be a readiness to talk, to plan, to negotiate, to work non-stop for the world's greatest cause: the cause of *peace*.

During this year's presidential campaign, there were many opportunities to explore the precise positions of Governor Reagan on every single issue. Hopefully, you did so. If you didn't, you can do so now. Because it is important that you not only know his positions on the issues, but be aware of his performance on the job. And it is especially important that you take that performance and its promise for the future, put it alongside Jimmy Carter's performance and *its* promise for the future ... and compare.

The time is now for strong leadership.

Reagan
for President

Paid for and authorized by Reagan Bush Committee. United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman. Bay Buchanan, Treasurer

Updating John's Sockdolager

The new Bartlett's adds Dylan and shrinks Shakespeare

He was a passionate fisherman and a passionate taxonomist, and so his collected works include *Catalogue of Books on Angling, including Ichthyology, Pisciculture, Etc.* Once when he caught a seven-pound trout, he sent it to his friend and whist partner James Russell Lowell, and Lowell rewarded him (and the trout) with some forellean verses that began:

> *Fit for an Abbott of Theleme,*
> *The whole Cardinals' College, or*
> *The Pope himself to see in dream*
> *Before his Lenten vision gleam,*
> *He lies there, the sockdolager!*

This was John Bartlett, the mild and scholarly proprietor of the University Book Store in Cambridge, Mass., who was asked so often about the origin of some quotation or other that he decided in 1855 to print a small (295 pages) collection that he entitled *Familiar Quotations*. Out this month from Little, Brown, in which Bartlett eventually became a senior partner, is the 15th edition of his little collection, the first updating in twelve years. Now 1,540 pages, with 22,500 quotations, it is a sockdolager. Nearly 3,000 of the quotations are new to this edition, ranging from the maxims of Ptahhotpe, an Egyptian vizier of the 24th century B.C. ("Do not be arrogant because of your knowledge, but confer with the ignorant man as with the learned") to the gnomic counsel of Cartoonist Robert Crumb ("Keep on truckin' "). And in the array of such selections lies a whole history of Americans' changing views of the world.

Bartlett's own view was that a familiar quotation should be familiar. "The object of this work," said he, "is to show, to some extent, the obligations our language owes to various authors for . . . 'household words.' " The New England household of 1855 was devoutly high-minded. About one-third of Bartlett's quotations came from Shakespeare and the Bible, the rest mostly from worthy English poets. Among the unincluded: Washington, Jefferson, Thoreau.

Bartlett edited eight revised editions, slowly admitting novelties like Ralph Waldo Emerson. At his retirement, he left a literary monument that remained untouched for almost a quarter-century. The year 1914 echoed to the guns of August, and the tenth edition of *Bartlett's* vibrated with new quotations from foreigners: Lewis Carroll, Nietzsche, Shaw, George Eliot (also, belatedly, Thoreau's *Walden*, but still no Hawthorne or Melville). The '20s and '30s brought yet another revolution in literary sensibilities, and new Editor Christopher Morley decided in 1937 that the best rule for choosing a quotation was simply his own taste. "We have tried to make literary power the criterion rather than width and vulgarity of fame," he wrote. Morley's view of literary power brought the *Bartlett's* debuts of Dostoevsky, Blake, Conrad and T.S. Eliot, along with four columns of quotes from Morley's own forgettable works. World War II, in turn, made literary power yield to political power. Enter Churchill, Hitler, Douglas MacArthur and the Charter of the United Nations.

Quote-Collector Bartlett with newcomers: Liberace, Allen, Joplin and Dylan

And 1980? *Bartlett's* editor, Emily Morison Beck, daughter of Historian Samuel Eliot Morison, has reverted somewhat to Bartlett's original concept of familiarity, and what is familiar today is pop culture. So step aside Shakespeare—a few inches, anyway—to make some room for Bob Dylan ("The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind"), Janis Joplin ("Down on me, down on me/ Looks like everybody in this whole round world/ Is down on me"), Timothy Leary ("Turn on, tune in, drop out"), Wladziu Valentino Liberace ("I cried all the way to the bank"), Yogi Berra ("The game isn't over till it's over") and Woody Allen ("Play It Again, Sam").*

A new generation of literary figures also sounds pop: Mario Puzo ("I'll make him an offer he can't refuse"), Paddy Chayevsky ("I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it any more") and Andy Warhol ("In the future, everyone will be world-famous for 15 minutes"). Even the most eminent politicians nowadays are often remembered less for literary power than for pop theatrics. Richard Nixon, for example, is trailed by a whole series of unstatesmanlike remarks: "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more . . . I'm not a crook . . . I want you all to stonewall it."

Changing times bring not just new concepts of celebrity but new evaluations of Christmases past. Wildernesses are In now; belching symbols of industrial power are Out. Abigail Adams' "Remember the ladies" is, of course, obligatory. And, in keeping with its relentless democracy, the new *Bartlett's* greatly increases the space devoted to the works of Anon. He (she) now provides not only such familiar items as "O.K.," "Kilroy was here" and "Women and children first," but also a cornucopia of cowboy songs, Indian chants and even some less-than-familiar Swahili proverbs ("Speak silver, reply gold").

"I think of *Bartlett's* as literary archaeology," says Beck, "in which familiar and noteworthy quotations reveal . . . the nature of the age and the people who created them." If so, the 15th edition, with its chorus of sayings by Neil Armstrong, Muhammad Ali, R.D. Laing, Mick Jagger and the rest of the tribe, reminds one of Victor Hugo's platitude about an idea whose time has come, a quotation that Beck calmly assures us Hugo never said. Bartlett would have been proud of her.

—By Otto Friedrich

*No, Humphrey Bogart never said what everybody thinks he said in *Casablanca*. All he said was "Play it!" and all Ingrid Bergman said was "Play it, Sam."

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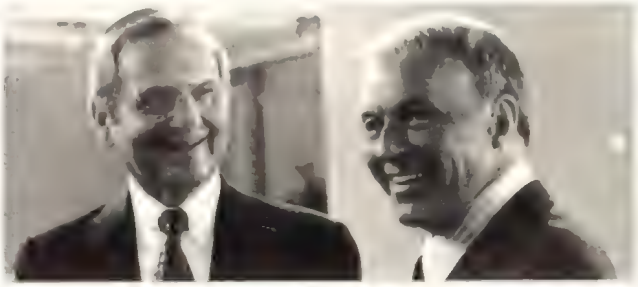
The Chairman of the Board tells "The Chairman of the Board" why it's time for Imperial.

Lee Iacocca talks to Frank Sinatra about the future of luxury cars in America.

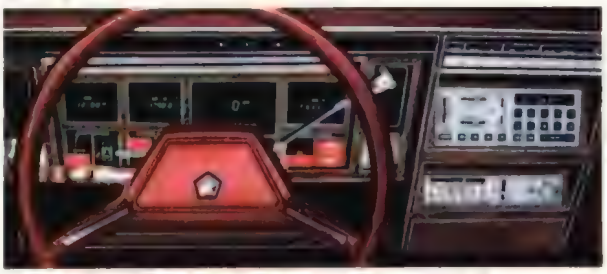


On July 18, 1980 Frank Sinatra, the entertainment industry's "Chairman of the Board," joined Lee A. Iacocca, Chairman of the Board of The New Chrysler Corporation, at the first public exhibition of America's newest luxury car, the 1981 Imperial.

This new Imperial is an unusually timely automobile, newer than its competitors and, in significant ways, substantially different from them; it is these differences that make the Imperial the unique automobile it is.

After opening the exhibition and viewing the new Imperial, Sinatra and Iacocca spent some time discussing what America needs in a luxury car today and how this new Imperial fills those needs.

Sinatra: When you build a luxury car, where do you start? How do you lay down the specs?
Iacocca: You try to build a luxury car that's better than the competition. Say you take your leading potential competitor and you might say, 'I'm going to give a customer 105 percent of this guy's riding comfort. Or 100 percent of his cornering ability.' You can set your sights on what the people are already buying.
Sinatra: Is that what you did?
Iacocca: Sure. But our standards for this Imperial were based more on what the people need today than on what the competition is giving them. You know, times have changed in the automobile business.
Sinatra: You mean the energy crunch.
Iacocca: Partly. That's why today you have to try to build a car that's the right kind of car for now and, hopefully, for tomorrow as well. Now, you've owned a lot of cars.
Sinatra: You'd better believe it.
Iacocca: What do you think today's luxury car should be?
Sinatra: I don't know where to start.
Iacocca: Start with the way it should look.
Sinatra: Well, first of all, I'd want it to look simple. I think things are getting cleaner and simpler looking and that's how it should be.
Iacocca: Agreed. That's why we tried to keep the Imperial as uncluttered as possible.
Sinatra: The shape is very clean.
Iacocca: It's what we call slippery.
Sinatra: Slippery?
Iacocca: Slips through the air. In the wind tunnel they give it a number they call a drag coefficient. Tells you how aerodynamic the car is. The lower the number, the better.
Sinatra: Well, you've come out of the wind tunnel with a very elegant looking automobile.
Iacocca: What pleases me more is that the styling actually helps the car perform the way you need a car to perform these days.
Sinatra: Fine, but what about the things I can't see? What about engineering? You guys had a big reputation for engineering.
Iacocca: I believe we're still ahead. But engineering a car has changed radically.
Sinatra: Come on, Lee, this country can put a man on the moon, but we can't build an automobile right. Where's our technology when it comes to things we use every day?
Iacocca: I hear you. But I've been in this business a lot of years and when I look at the new Imperial, I see an electronic marvel.



"...when I look at the new Imperial, I see an electronic marvel."

Sinatra: An electronic marvel? What does that mean?
Iacocca: Okay. You mention the space program. Our electronics division down in Huntsville, Alabama, was a prime contractor on the Redstone missile and the Saturn

Apollo program. We're an industry leader in automotive electronics, going back to electronic ignition. There are several hundred electronics experts down there in Huntsville and after we switched them from space work to commercial work, the Imperial is one of the things they went to work on.

Sinatra: What did they do?

Iacocca: Built our system of Electronic Fuel Injection.

Sinatra: Fuel injection's been around for years.

Iacocca: Not like this. The Imperial has the first continuous flow fully electronically controlled fuel injection for any production automobile built anywhere in the world.

Sinatra: Why is that good?

Iacocca: First of all, it controls both the fuel delivery and the spark advance, based on information it gets from about a dozen sensors that monitor everything from engine temperature to barometric pressure. They feed all this information into what we call the Combustion Computer. Then the computer figures the best possible spark advance for all these conditions and the best proportion of air to fuel, and meters out the exact amount you need.

Sinatra: What's in it for me?

Iacocca: Four things. First of all, it starts by just a turn of the key. Second, you get the smoothest idle, even on cold mornings. Number three, there are practically no balks. And number four, practically no stalls.

Sinatra: Sounds terrific.

Iacocca: And that's only the half of it. I tell you, we've never had electronics like this. Now you've got to admit, this instrument panel is rather unusual.

Sinatra: I've driven a lot of cars and I've never seen anything that looked like it. But why does a digital instrument panel make the Imperial a better car?

Iacocca: Because it makes you a smarter driver. Tell me, what do you need to know when you're driving a car?

Sinatra: I want to know how fast I'm going. How far I've gone. How much gas I've got left. What time it is. That's all.

Iacocca: Okay. This instrument panel shows you all of that in words and numbers.

Sinatra: No gauges?

Iacocca: No gauges. This is the only production built American car with a completely electronic digital instrument cluster.

Sinatra: And what do the buttons do?

Iacocca: They turn your instrument panel into an Electronic Communications Center. Push button number one and your speedometer changes from miles to kilometers.

Sinatra: Not bad.

Iacocca: Push button number two and your electronic chronometer gives you the date instead of the time. Button number three turns the whole chronometer into an electronic timer that tells you how long you've been driving.

Sinatra: What about how far I've gone?

Iacocca: That's button number four. Push it and the electronic odometer shows you how far you've gone since you started. The next button tells your average speed.

Sinatra: And it's all in miles or kilometers.

Iacocca: That's right. Button six shows how far the gas in your tank will take you under present driving conditions. Number seven shows how many miles you're now getting to the gallon. And number eight gives your mileage over your entire trip.

Sinatra: I've never had that on any car.

Iacocca: There's more.

Sinatra: More buttons to push?

Iacocca: No. This part is all automatic. If either half of the dual hydraulic brake system is defective, a light goes on. If the emergency brake is on, this lights up. If your oil pressure or battery voltage are too low, or your engine temperature is too high, these lights come on.

Sinatra: That's a lot of lights.

Iacocca: We've got chimes, too. If you don't buckle up, your Imperial will chime at you. Leave the key in the ignition and it beeps. Leave the lights on and it makes a tone.

Sinatra: Very musical.

Iacocca: I told you we built it for you, Frank.

Sinatra: What about your other customers? Is this stuff all standard equipment?

Iacocca: Frank, the only option on the Imperial is a power sliding roof. Every luxury is standard. And there are more luxuries standard than any car in America. I've got even more luxuries than *you* would ask for.

Sinatra: Try me.

Iacocca: You try me. What features do you want in your car?

Sinatra: Start with music.

Iacocca: Your choice of four sound systems, standard. All stereo. All with the best speakers we've ever had.

Sinatra: Power steering, power windows, power seats.

Iacocca: Of course.

Sinatra: Leather upholstery?

Iacocca: Frank, this is the only car in the world with an interior by Mark Cross. It's even got a built-in garage door opener and a hood ornament of Cartier crystal.

Sinatra: You're not fooling around with quality on this baby, are you?

Iacocca: I wanted a quality automobile to sell. I wanted to be able to give it a basic limited warranty twice as long as the competition's.

Sinatra: How long is that?

Iacocca: Two years or 30,000 miles, whichever comes first. It covers all parts except tires, all labor and all schedule maintenance. Our rust warranty lasts *three* years.

Sinatra: I don't even pay for an oil change?

Iacocca: That's right. The Imperial warranty has the details.

Sinatra: That kind of confidence takes guts.

Iacocca: I know what went into it. Look, every one of these Imperials gets a test drive by an expert. We built a Quality Assurance Center where the whole vehicle gets a going-over to make sure that nothing gets out that's not first-rate. When an inspector there signs off on the car, the signed papers actually come with the car.

Sinatra: I think there are a lot of people waiting for a car like this one, Lee.

Iacocca: I've got a bunch of Imperial dealers who are ready for them, Frank.

For the name of the Imperial dealer nearest you, call toll-free 1-800-521-7272. In the state of Michigan call 1-800-482-6838.

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"I wanted to be able to give it a basic limited warranty twice as long as the competition's."

1981 Imperial. Size and price: comparable to Cadillac Eldorado and Continental Mark VI. EPA est. mpg. 26 est. hwy. mpg. Use these ests for comparison. Mileage may vary depending on speed, weather, trip length. Actual hwy. mileage will probably be less. Calif. ests. lower.

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Theater

Ghostly Cry

THE SUICIDE *by Nikolai Erdman*

This seriocomic drama is a relentlessly pumped-up footnote to Stalinist repression. It is a police-state curio dating from 1932. After 18 months of rehearsals, *The Suicide* was banned by the Moscow censors on the night of its dress rehearsal, and its author, Nikolai Erdman (1902-70), fell into abject disfavor.

The play's message is that an individual does not stand a ghost of a chance in a tyranny. Despite some farcically funny moments, and a brigade of song-and-dance gypsies—presumably immune to Communism's joyless coercions—*The Suicide*, as of 1980, iterates the obvious.

Derek Jacobi in *The Suicide*

Unfazed even by a giant Junglegym.

The hero, Senya (Derek Jacobi), is an everyman-nobody. He has no job, is supported by his wife and browbeaten by her mother. He decides to kill himself.

Immediately, he is lionized by a parade of advocates who relish the idea of a martyr's bearing witness to their pet creeds. A seedy intellectual, played with querulous pungency by John Heffernan, wants Senya to die for the valor of the intelligentsia, while a writer urges him to expire for the glory of art, and a faded beauty argues for the ideal of romantic love.

Senya does not keep his rendezvous with destiny, but Derek Jacobi does. Best known for the title role in the TV series *I, Claudius*, Jacobi makes his debut at Broadway's ANTA Theater a thumping virtuosic triumph. He is unfazed even by the giant Junglegym of a set. Toward the end of the play, Senya pleads with the faceless state: "Give us the right to whisper." This production usurps the right to drone. —*By T.E. Kalem*

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"Have we ever had a president that wasn't *indefatigable?"*

Medicine

"Fit" for the Presidency?

Medical profiles raise questions, but are reassuring

When photographers are allowed to snap Jimmy Carter jogging, John Anderson swimming and Ronald Reagan riding horseback or climbing a tree bare-chested, the object is not simply to provide some lively pictures to spice up a dull campaign. The presidential contenders are not-so-subtly showing the electorate that they are hale and hearty, up to the physical rigors of the country's highest office.

But just how healthy are they? That question was raised last week at a press conference called by Dr. John Roglieri of Manhattan's Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center. An ambitious New York internist, who took advantage of the meeting to make available to reporters copies of his latest book on health risks, Roglieri complained that voters are forced to rely on assessments made by each candidate's physician, and that these are not standardized.

Though Roglieri's complaint is valid up to a point, Americans now have far more intimate medical knowledge of their leaders than have citizens of other countries, or than Americans had in the past. When Grover Cleveland was secretly operated on for cancer of the jaw and mouth on board the yacht *Oneida* as it cruised on Long Island Sound, the public was told that the President had had some bad teeth extracted. The public did not know about Woodrow Wilson's stroke, nor were voters told about Franklin Delano Roosevelt's failing heart. John F. Kennedy spoke to intimates of "my Addison's disease," but the public was told that he had "a partial adrenal insufficiency." Dwight Eisenhower was the exception. After he was felled by a heart attack, he and his physicians chose full medical disclosure, issuing daily bulletins that went so far as to describe presidential bowel movements. Lyndon Johnson was generous with details of his 1965 gall bladder operation—and, as a now-famous photograph attests, he even showed off his scar for the nation to see.

This year all three presidential candidates seem remarkably fit.

▸ John Anderson, 58, is 5 ft. 10½ in., 148 lbs.; blood pressure 120/68. He has varicose veins that require no treatment, and a high-frequency hearing loss in both ears for which he does not need a hearing aid. He sleeps seven hours a night and is an avid swimmer, trying to squeeze in a 50-lap session each day. In 1974 Anderson was diagnosed as having mitral valve prolapse, a slight deformation of one of the four valves of the heart. The condition, not generally dangerous, is thought to be shared by up to 15% of Americans, but it produces a distinct heart noise, and so is known as the "systolic-click-murmur" syndrome. He has no symptoms but has been advised to take penicillin before undergoing dental work because infection sometimes spreads through bleeding gums. The antibiotic is intended to ward off a bacterial infection to the heart, something to which people with this valve condition may be susceptible.

▸ Jimmy Carter, 56, is 5 ft. 9½ in., 151 lbs.; blood pressure 120/80. Like all other Presidents, Carter has visibly aged in office, but he remains in excellent shape. Jogging three miles a day has brought his resting pulse beat down from 60 to 50 beats per minute. The most versatile athlete of the three candidates, Carter also likes fishing and tennis. He gets six hours sleep a night, and avoids hops, lima beans and Swiss cheese, to which he is allergic. His hemorrhoid problem appears to be inactive. He occasionally suffers shin splints from jogging.

▸ Ronald Reagan, 69, is 6 ft. 2 in., 194 lbs.; blood pressure 130/80. He had a 1967 prostate operation in which stones were removed. He has some hearing loss (attributed by his doctor, John Reynolds of Los Angeles, to age, and by Reagan to the noise of a revolver fired too close to his ear while he filmed a movie in the 1930s. He also has an arthritic right thumb, and suffers from hay fever. Reagan rides and uses an exercise wheel regularly. According to his doctor, the wheel has contributed to "his upper torso and chest muscles [being] really well preserved."

The candidates' physicians contend, probably correctly, that they have released all "significant" material. Some observers—including Dr. Roglieri—say they would like to see Presidents and candidates for the presidency submit to checkups by an independent panel of physicians, and the full results made public. It would be hard to choose, or certify, such a panel. Nor can there even be any real guarantee of future good health. After all, which American has not heard of someone who, a few days after his or her annual checkup, suffered a heart attack? ■

Johnson displays gall bladder scar (1965)

A clean bill of health, then a heart attack

Music

Sweet Harmony

There will be a Met season

It may go down in history as the Metropolitan Opera's elevator contract. Talks with the orchestra started on the second floor of Manhattan's Doral Inn, moved up to the sixth, and then rose still higher to the 17th, where a tentative agreement was finally reached over the weekend. Though the musicians still have to ratify the contract—and 16 other unions must settle as well—one thing seemed virtually certain: the Met will have a 1980-81 season after all.

The chief issue never was pay but hours. The 93 members of the orchestra, who had to play five performances a week under the previous contract, insisted on a reduction to four. They were so determined that they even volunteered to accept a slightly smaller pay increase than the opera had offered. Said Union Counsel I. Philip Sipser: "The cause of the dispute is overwork, which produces illness and tension." The Met board was equally adamant, claiming that to give in would set a precedent for other unions and wreck the opera's precariously balanced budget. Said Executive Director Anthony Bliss: "Survival is the question."

Actually, as the negotiators finally discovered, there was always room for compromise. The musicians have particularly exacting jobs and cannot be compared with members of most other unions; indeed, about 20 who play unusually demanding instruments such as the horn and the oboe already had four performance weeks. The precise details of the settlement awaited this week's ratification vote, but it almost certainly represented a mutually acceptable trade-off. "We got to the top in more ways than the 17th floor," exults Violinist Sandor Balint. The management is just as happy. "I'm elated," says Bliss. The real hero is Federal Mediator Wayne Horvitz, who persuaded both sides to lay aside their almost pathological hostilities. Says he: "They got rid of all that nonsense in the last three days and stopped shouting at each other."

Unfortunately for opera lovers, the discord has already cost five weeks of performances, including the season premiere of *Turandot*, starring Luciano Pavarotti and Montserrat Caballé. It will be two or three weeks before the house reopens. For some productions, like *Samson et Dalila*, *Das Rheingold* and *Götterdämmerung*, the agreement almost certainly has come too late. A new staging of *Queen of Spades*, planned for next March, may also be scratched. Even so, there were few tears at Lincoln Center. If the accord had not come now, there might have been no season at all. ■

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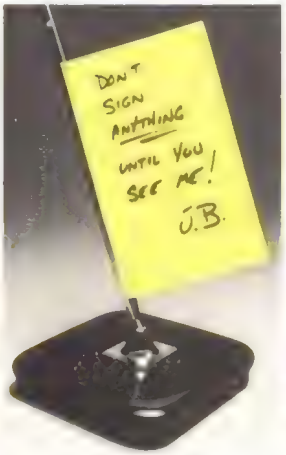

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Taj Mahal glistening in the sunlight; inset: a leaf of inlay showing pitting

Is the Taj Mahal Doomed?

Industrial pollution is eating away India's great monument

It has been called the greatest compliment ever paid to a woman. Built 3½ centuries ago by the bereaved Mogul Emperor Shah Jehan as a tomb for his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal (Chosen of the Palace), the Taj Mahal is perhaps the most extravagant and beautiful mausoleum in the world. Made of shimmering white marble from Rajasthan, its domes and minarets glow so brightly, even in moonlight, that large sections were wrapped in burlap during the most recent India-Pakistan war out of fear that Pakistani aircraft might use it as a beacon.

Such precautions may not be needed in the future. Growing industrial pollution is slowly darkening the gleaming monument. Some worried Indian conservationists figure it may be totally discolored in 50 years.

The Taj has survived past threats. In the second half of the 18th century, it was looted of precious stones, gold panels and two silver doors. The elements have also taken their toll. But these earlier assaults may pale beside the damage that could come from the industrialization of Agra (pop. 1,250,000), which creates great clouds of pollutants. Worse still, the Taj is located in the valley of the Yamuna River, where atmospheric inversions trap corrosive agents for days at a time.

Though only about 1% of the Taj's surface has been affected, the damage is already distressingly obvious. Marble that was once a bright white is now streaked with pitting that gives it a yellowish cast. Some red sandstone of adjoining buildings has actually begun to flake. The chief culprits are believed to be coal dust and sulfur dioxide fumes; these help create sulfuric acid that attacks the calcium carbonate of the marble. Most of the pollution comes from two coal-fired power plants, a large railroad switching yard and myriad small coal-burning foundries. Still more pollution may be in the offing from a new oil refinery in nearby Mathura.

At the Indian Heritage Society's urging, the government is considering means of protecting the Taj, India's greatest tourist attraction (more than 3.5 million visitors a year). It has installed pollution-monitoring gear. It has also promised to relocate the power stations and foundries and to replace coal-burning locomotives with diesels. But these are expensive, perhaps ultimately unworkable solutions. Meanwhile, workmen are repairing and replacing marble slabs as fast as they can. So far, though, the pollutants are winning the race. ■

Skeptical View

Another look at Love Canal

When President Carter approved the relocation of some 700 families from the Love Canal area in Niagara Falls, N.Y., last May, he acted on the assumption that the old chemical dump site was, in the words of a New York State report, a "public health time bomb." But just how severely have the people of Love Canal been imperiled? Reviewing the scientific findings to date, a panel of distinguished doctors has now issued a surprising verdict. In its view, no scientific evidence has been offered that the people of Love Canal have suffered "acute health effects" from exposure to the hazardous wastes, nor has the threat of long-term damage been conclusively demonstrated.

The report, commissioned by New York Governor Hugh Carey, is sharply at odds with preliminary investigations. These had indicated that the rate of miscarriages, birth defects, asthma, and nerve disorders was significantly higher among people living near the runoff from the leaking dump site than among other residents. One researcher, hired by the EPA, claimed to have found a high incidence of chromosomal abnormalities. Such defects have been linked with spontaneous abortions, birth defects and cancer.

But the panel, chaired by Dr. Lewis Thomas, chancellor of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, attacks the quality of these studies. The chromosome report, it noted, involved no controls or reviews by independent scientists before it was released. That breach of standard scientific practice, said the panel, "was a disservice to the citizens most intimately concerned and to the public at large." The panel also found fault with an investigator who hinted at nerve damage among Love Canal residents: "Equivocal or ambiguous observations are likely to do more harm than good."

The authors of the challenged studies were understandably irritated. Cancer Researcher Beverly Paigen said that while her voluntary effort was only a preliminary study, "it would have been unethical to put it into a drawer and forget it." Jeered Love Canal Homeowner Marie Pozniak: "This is apparently the only place in the U.S. where you can eat, breathe and drink 240 poisonous compounds and be safe."

The panel did not deny the clear risk in living atop toxic pollutants. As Thomas put it: "Love Canal is obviously a miserable place, and I feel very sympathetic to the residents." It did say that before any rational decisions can be made about these dangers, they must be established by something more than what Thomas calls "fragmentary and poor science." ■

The Bodies in Question

The new season puts a lecherous sneer back into sex

Blame it on OPEC. Blame it on the mood of the country. Blame it on Suzanne Somers. Blame it on anything you want; there's plenty to go around. As the new TV comedy series finally slink into view after the actors' strike, an ominous trend becomes evident. The witty humanism of the best '70s shows—*Mary Tyler Moore, M*A*S*H, Taxi*—has given way to jokes built around bustlines and pratfalls. Out goes the humor of social complicity, of reasonably mature characters; in stomps the japery of sexual humiliation, in which grimly aggressive caricatures swat each other with gag lines. Mary Richards' chic office wear is déclassé; this year's line consists of tank tops and tight jeans. Goodbye, Golden Age of TV comedy; hello, Little Annie Fanny. Watch 'em and weep: the age of the smutcom is upon us.

Hanks and Scolari in *Bosom Buddies*

Viewers tuning in over the next month may think that they have entered a time warp, for the programs seem like instant artifacts of the '50s, when automobiles were first recognized as sex objects and a movie star like Jayne Mansfield seemed manufactured on the voyeur's assembly line. There is a difference though: most of the new fare pretends to an awareness of feminism. *It's a Living* (ABC, Thursdays at 9:30 p.m. E.S.T.) is set in a posh Los Angeles restaurant, where five spunky women try to keep a sense of humor as they fight off lecherous customers. Lecherous viewers, however, are encouraged: the waitress uniforms look to have been painted on by Frederick's of Hollywood. On Wendy Schaal, who brings just the right mixture of innocence and sensuous vitality to her role, the character fits as well as the uniform.

The quintet of waitresses on a voyeur's assembly line in *It's a Living*

I'm a Big Girl Now (ABC, Fridays at 8:30 p.m. E.S.T.) means to be a battle of wills and wits between a young divorcee (Diana Canova) and her haranguing father (Danny Thomas). Diana is sweet and smart, but, in the opening episode at least, it is father who knows best: he turns from Jewish mother to father confessor in record time. She must endure his sudden wisdom even as she trades toilet and underwear jokes with the rest of the cast, including her boss (Sheree North), who has an I.Q. of 190 but talks only of trysts with men who dress up in rubber.

Ladies' Man (CBS, Mondays at 8:30 p.m. E.S.T.) is a clumsy attempt to satirize almost every woman who has a good job and a little ambition. It is set in the offices of a woman's magazine that publishes articles on both "Sexual Harassment and the Working Woman" and "17 Ways with Tuna Fish." The boss is an amalgam of famous woman editors—a sort of Helen Gloria Vreeland. But the moment a token male (Lawrence Pressman) joins the staff, the gals go man-crazy. The editor in chief (Louise Sorel) tests the new man his first day on the job, promising to advance his career if he agrees to spend the weekend with her. *Ladies' Man* may develop into a vehicle for sprightly social comedy but, at the moment, this vehicle is a *Ms.* carriage.

Sorel and Pressman in *Ladies' Man*

It is not easy to blend social comedy with slapstick, especially when the emphasis is on the latter. Farce is a precision instrument: the cuckolded husband must negotiate a labyrinth of plot twists before he opens his bedroom door at the split second his lovely young wife adjusts her peignoir and the milkman defenestrates himself. Farce demands ingenuity, grace and discipline—qualities in short supply on network TV. Occasionally those magic imps Penny Marshall (Laverne) and Cindy Williams (Shirley) bring it off. Now Chris Thompson and Joel Zwick, two veterans of L & S, have devised *Bosom Buddies* (ABC, Thursdays at 8:30 p.m. E.S.T.). The first episode is as silly as its premise: two guys dress as women to secure lodging in an all-girl hotel. *Some Like It Hot* this is not, and some of the jokes are more than nine days old. But there is promise here: the young stars, Tom Hanks and Peter Scolari, know when to underplay a line and when to run with it. If Thompson and Zwick can find inventive ways to extend this single-joke situation, *Bosom Buddies* could be worth watching.

One wishes that could be said for Ted Knight and *Too Close for Comfort* (ABC, Tuesdays at 9:30 p.m. E.S.T.). As *Mary Tyler Moore's* Ted Baxter, Knight embodied a wonderful comic oaf: vain, inept and hilarious. In his new series he is just another henpecked husband, who must put up with two nubile daughters and fall over a loveseat every eight minutes. The other seven minutes, *Too Close* slavers over the sight of bountiful Lydia Cornell as she ponders the implications of taking a deep breath. The show cannot see the farce for the tease. The actors exaggerate their gestures grotesquely, as if performing R-rated charades for the nearsighted. *Too Close for Comfort* marks a milestone in TV history: the eclipse of a fine comic actor, and the full festering of the smutcom. Never has the medium more fully deserved its reputation as the boob tube.

— *By Richard Corliss*

Scratching a 98-Year Itch

History strikes out as the Phillies finally win a Series

"On the whole," W.C. Fields asserted as his epitaph, "I'd rather be in Philadelphia." That was easy for Fields to say; he was not a baseball fan. No team in the majors has had as long or luckless a history as the Philadelphia Phillies. In 98 years, the Quaker City also-rans contrived to reach the World Series just three times. In 1915 the Phillies were whipped by the Boston Red Sox, four games to one. The last Philadelphia entry, the 1950 Whiz Kids, fizzled in four straight games to the New York Yankees. Until this year the Phillies managed to win fewer World Series games (one) than Thoroughbred fillies managed to win Kentucky Derbys (two).

Last week the long wait for a winner finally ended. Having folded, spindled and mutilated their hopes for nearly a century, the Phillies beat the Kansas City Royals, four games to two, to become world champions. If the Phillies have changed, so have the times. In an era when vandalism has replaced simple celebration, Philadelphia's Veterans Stadium looked like a banana republic during the final game. More than 600 policemen —some mounted on horseback, others hauling on the leashes of snarling attack dogs—surrounded the field during the final inning. With 65,838 fans thus held at bay, Relief Pitcher Tug McGraw threw a third-strike pitch past Royals' Outfielder Willie Wilson with the bases loaded for the last out, and the title belonged to Manager Dallas Green's team.

For all the dramatics in Philadelphia, the Series had actually been won two days earlier in Kansas City, when the Phillies staged a ninth-inning rally to win the fifth game, 4-3. Philadelphia Third Baseman Mike Schmidt, who was later chosen the Series Most Valuable Player, smashed a line drive past George Brett, his Royals counterpart. Brett dove for the ball, but it glanced off his glove and the comeback had begun. With the help of Pinch-Hitter Del Unser, who slammed a double beyond the flailing reach of Royals' First Baseman Willie Aikens, the Phillies turned a one-run deficit into a one-run lead. McGraw came on to shut the door on the Royals, striking out Rightfielder Jose Cardenal, again with the bases loaded.

Returning to Philadelphia, Kansas City had to face Phillies Ace Steve Carlton in the sixth game. The left-handed Carlton—odds-on choice for his third Cy Young Award as the National League's top pitcher with a 24-9 regular season record—beat the Royals in the second game, striking out seven batters. Equally important, he kept the Royals' fleet base runners back on their heels with one of the best pick-off throws in the game. Fretted Royals' Manager Jim Frey: "Any time they call a guy 'Lefty,' you know you got trouble."

The Royals had trouble until the eighth inning, when they finally scored a run off Carlton. But for the second time McGraw managed to eke out a save, aided by an alley-oop catch by First Baseman Pete Rose, who speared a pop-up bobbled by Catcher Bob Boone for a crucial ninth-inning out.

The Royals' bull pen, on the other hand, proved incapable of stemming the Phillies' late-innings tide. To add insult to ineffectiveness, Kansas City's bull pen was turned into a menagerie in the final game. Philadelphia's Finest stored police dogs in the Royals' left-field enclosure, and Reliever Marty Pattin had to ease his way past a posse of horses when he came on to pitch in the fifth inning. Said Pattin: "I thought we had a zoo out there. The dogs were excited by the crowd, and they were barking and carrying on. When I started into the game, there were four or five horses standing by the door and I was just hoping I wouldn't get kicked."

Phillies fans unleash 98 years of failure (above) with Tug McGraw's chant (below): "We're No.1!"

As it was, the only damage was to the Royals' pride. Willie Wilson, who this season became only the second player to get 100 hits both left- and righthanded while averaging .326, suffered the cruelest fate. His Series-ending strikeout set a new record for whiffs (twelve). Brett, eying Wilson's empty locker after the left-fielder had fled to the showers, sympathized with his teammate: "Willie did things this year no player has ever done before, but this is what people will remember, the strikeouts. It's sad."

MVP Schmidt enjoyed the opposite fate. In the thrill-an-inning playoffs against Houston, he had been the goat, hitting .208 (five hits in 24 at-bats) and striking out twice with the bases loaded in the final game. The Major League home-run leader during the regular season with 48, he regained his touch during the World Series, hitting .381, bashing two homers and driving in the winning run in two of the Phillies' four victories. That resurrection led Schmidt to mystical ruminations: "It was destined for us to win this thing. We overcame too many obstacles, came from behind too many times. We would always find a way to win and that's what makes this team great."

After the game Reliever McGraw, who names his pitches for liquors (the "Cutty Sark fastball," for instance, sails up and away from the batter), was asked what he would drink in celebration. "Everything," he replied. To Philadelphia fans, he deserved no less. More than 1 million fans—in a city of about 1.5 million —turned out the next day for a victory parade and rally, jubilantly joining in as McGraw led the long-awaited chant: "We're No. 1!" — *By B.J. Phillips. Reported by Peter Ainslie/Philadelphia*

John Paul conducting an audience in St. Peter's

All the bishops meeting last week in the Vatican's Synod Hall

Religion

The Bishops and Birth Control

No change, but they take a new look at divorce

The Synod of Bishops, created by Pope Paul VI in 1965, is potentially an important vehicle for sharing Vatican power with bishops whose people live under vastly different conditions all over the globe. Though the synod is only an advisory body and the Pope sets the agenda, bishops have an opportunity to come to the Vatican every few years to present their ideas on church problems. The synod of 1969, a year after Paul's hotly disputed reaffirmation of the ban on artificial birth control, brought a demand from the bishops that they be consulted next time before the Pope dropped any such doctrinal bombshell. After that, Paul rejected urgings from his bishops to call a synod on family issues, probably because he feared opening up birth control to discussion again.

For his first synod, however, Pope John Paul deliberately picked the treacherous topics his predecessor avoided: the whole range of family issues, including contraception, abortion, sexual morality and the thorny question of divorced Catholics involved in second marriages. The bishops talked for a month, and when the synod closed last week it was evident that on birth control, the assembly had buttressed tradition rather than questioned it. The end result was a reaffirmation of Paul's teaching by the 216 delegates, which not only strengthens official policy but also makes it appear less the view of one man in Rome and more that of the worldwide hierarchy.

Germany's Cardinal Ratzinger

As the synod began, there was a flurry of excitement. Led by Archbishop John R. Quinn, president of the U.S. hierarchy, a number of prelates from Western Europe, Canada and the U.S. baldly pointed out that large numbers of good Catholics simply do not understand the ban on birth control and are unwilling to obey it. But no one at the synod questioned Paul VI's teaching on birth control. And it soon became clear that many bishops in non-Western parts of the world take a dim view of contraception. Social-action liberal bishops from Brazil and other Third World nations spoke with special vehemence against it. Declared one Spanish language working group at the synod: "Christian marriage must be considered as a vocation to fertility." Jaime Cardinal Sin of the Philippines protested against "demographic manipulation." Paul Cardinal Zoungrana of Upper Volta led a protest against the World Bank for its policy of refusing financial aid to countries that have no population planning program.

The remaining business dealt with Catholics who practice contraception. The synod's final "propositions" for papal consideration, codified by West Germany's Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, have been kept secret. But most apparently endorsed tolerance: the birth control doctrine, as one Cardinal put it, "is not a discipline to be imposed in full rigor but should be gradually brought to the conscience of married couples as they mature." All sides agreed that the teaching must somehow be made more convincing.

At present, divorced and remarried Catholics are not considered church members in good standing who can receive Communion. Their plight consumed just as much synod energy as birth control, and it probably causes far more anguish at the parish level. Use of birth control, after all, can be absolved. But remarried Catholics are in a continual state of sin, and the existence of children in second marriages deepens the problem.

According to one archbishop, a synod majority favored admitting remarried Catholics to Communion if they can convince their bishop they "sincerely believe" their first marriage was not a true one in the church's view, even without a formal annulment. Officially, the synod only voted to study the matter. It also urged that consideration be given to following the policy of the Eastern Rite Catholic churches, which permit remarried Catholics who have been "unjustly abandoned" by their first spouse to take Communion. —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Wilton Wynn/Rome*

Smiting the Mighty Right

PAW vs. *political preachers*

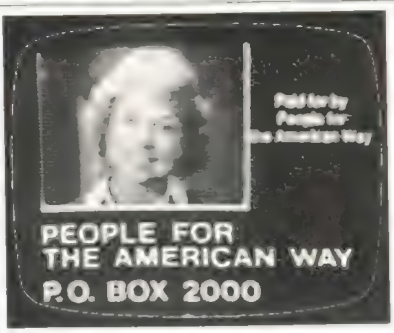
The housewife pauses while vacuuming the rug. Her drawl is as broad as her smile, as she declares herself "proud" to be from the "Bible Belt." But she *is* a mite disturbed about all those ministers meddling in politics. "Jesus didn't tell us there was only one Christian way to think politically," she says. "If my preacher and I don't tell anybody how to vote, then nobody's going to tell us how to worship. That's the American way, isn't it?" Viewers who agree are invited to phone or write in support of a new organization called People for the American Way.

Such television plugs began running in 14 cities last week. They are the latest venture of Producer Norman Lear, creator of such series as *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* and *All in the Family*. Lear's obvious targets are fellow TV personalities: Jerry Falwell and other right-wing preachers who are taking part in the presidential campaign. Lear became so exercised about religious politicians that he raised $300,000 to buy air time for his spots and gave his time, talent and name to People for the American Way. Beyond the new TV spots, PAW is working on educational programs with leaflets and articles on "the nature of our pluralistic society," for distribution in schools, churches and libraries. According to its inaugural statement last week, "the danger of the Religious New Right is that they attack the integrity and character of anyone who does not stand with them." A PAW manifesto, written by former Yale Divinity School Dean Colin Williams, contends that the Protestant right threatens pluralism, democracy and, yes, the American way.

Norman Lear

Since Ronald Reagan is the favorite of Falwell and Co., this looks like an election-eve attempt to stir a religious backlash against Reagan. But Lear, a contributor to John Anderson's campaign, denies partisan intent. PAW involves a wide assortment of public figures both secular and spiritual (among them: Editor Norman Cousins, former FCC chairman Newton Minow, Notre Dame President Theodore Hesburgh, Ecumenical Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, President M. William Howard of the National Council of Churches). PAW, moreover, is only one of several groups. Similar alarms have been sounded in recent weeks by the bishops of the Episcopal Church, Lutheran and Baptist lobbyists in Washington and leaders of other Protestant denominations.

America has a long tradition of mixing religion and politics, from abolition to Prohibition, and up through current attempts by both Carter and Reagan to enlist religious support. Indeed, all the groups attacking Falwell insist that they support the right of his "Moral Majority" or Christian Voice to apply religious values in the arena of public action. Many of them have avidly supported such hot political causes as the fights against segregation and nuclear power. The problem, they say, lies in the methods used by the religious right, especially widespread lists of the supposed Christian positions, and attacks on legislators who disagree. "Those who do not fall in line, by implication, are not good Christians," complains Howard, whose National Council of Churches has issued many political pronouncements. "Our efforts are not undertaken to attack other Christians who have other views."



"Bible Belt" housewife on TV

Also hard hats and a threat to pluralism.

Many moderate Evangelicals are against Falwell too, but on different grounds. They resent the New Right's claim to speak for 45 million believers, especially on issues without specific biblical underpinnings, such as the Panama Canal or SALT II. They also think the suggestion that anyone who disagrees is sub-Christian is exactly what Evangelicals have long criticized in Protestant liberals. The Evangelical journal *Christianity Today* is disturbed that the New Right favors "pro-life" and "profamily" causes but tends to ignore the Bible's teachings regarding justice, peace, and care for the poor.

Jerry Falwell, who professes to be committed to U.S. pluralism, thinks the PAW crusade is mere partisanship. "Norman Lear sees a future threat to what he is doing, to the pornographic television he produces like *Mary Hartman* and *Maude*. He used Archie Bunker and Edith for years to demean women, got rich doing it, then gave a big donation to the women's movement. He's just playing games again, and using some liberal theologians for his own devices."

Falwell's attack is characteristically blunt. But it suggests how hot the struggle is, how profoundly it involves not only political means but religious ends, and how likely it is to continue long after the present presidential campaign. ■

Milestones

MARRIED. Dustin Hoffman, 43, versatile film actor *(Papillon, Marathon Man)* who this year won an Academy Award for his performance in *Kramer vs. Kramer;* and **Lisa Gottsegen,** 25, a lawyer; he for the second time, six days after his divorce from Anne Byrne, his actress-dancer wife of eleven years; in Roxbury, Conn. Hoffman and Gottsegen met through his parents and her grandparents, who were neighbors in Los Angeles.

MARRIED. Gerald Green, 58, novelist *(The Last Angry Man)* who wrote the script for the Emmy Award–winning 1978 television series *Holocaust;* and Interior Designer **Marlene Eagle,** 46; both for the second time; in New Canaan, Conn.

DIED. Edwin Way Teale, 81, naturalist, photographer and illustrator whose more than 30 books *(The Lost Woods, North with the Spring, A Walk Through the Year)* combined a scientist's eye for detail with a poet's love for language; in Norwich, Conn. Teale, who became interested in the out-of-doors during childhood visits to his grandfather's farm in Indiana, put two decades of effort and 100,000 miles of travel into a four-part series on the American seasons, which culminated in 1965 with the Pulitzer-prizewinning *Wandering Through Winter*. In it he wrote: "Beneath fields of white and rivers of ice and in the hard and frozen ground, life was waiting, confident, undespairing. Its activity was merely suspended. The stillness, the seeming death of winter, is but an illusion."

DIED. Eleanor Grace McClatchy, 85, pioneering woman publisher who for 42 years ran McClatchy Newspapers, Inc., a chain that includes the Sacramento, Fresno and Modesto *Bees* in California, the Anchorage *Daily News* in Alaska and other dailies; in Sacramento. McClatchy was a playwrighting student at Columbia University when her father's death in 1936 propelled her into the presidency of the company. She was aggressive in acquiring one television and several radio stations, and in using her newspapers' influence to champion liberal candidates and causes, but personally she remained extremely reticent. In a rare interview, she once said: "I am content to have people think I live in a cave and wear horns."

DIED. Sheldon Warren Cheney, 94, art historian and theater critic who helped define the modernist movement in American drama in the 1920s and '30s that was exemplified by such figures as Playwright Eugene O'Neill and Designer Robert Edmond Jones; of a stroke, in Berkeley, Calif. He founded *Theatre Arts* magazine in 1916 (it discontinued publication in 1964). His books include *The New Movement in the Theater* (1914), *Expressionism in Art* (1934) and *The Story of Modern Art* (1941)

Cinema

Miracle Worker

RESURRECTION
Directed by Daniel Petrie
Screenplay by Lewis John Carlino

Edna Mae (Ellen Burstyn) is a faith healer without an orthodox faith. Though the deaf and the halt are cured at her touch, she is no manic Holy Roller, no snake-shaking spellbinder invoking God's immediate intervention for the sake of a fatter collection plate. She is a sensible Kansas widow, retrieved from a brush with death, who restores health "in the name of love." Love is all she wants to give to the two men in her life: her stern pa (Roberts Blossom), who responds to her proffered caress both as a seduction and a slap, and a young rake (Sam Shepard), who is at first liberated by her power and then consumed in it.

Like its characters, *Resurrection* is a

Ellen Burstyn in *Resurrection*
Troubled by a healing gift

sympathetic but irreconcilable olio of extremes. The film swerves between irony and sentimentality, human drama and melodrama, powerful acting and shameless hammery—sometimes in the same sequence or shot. Screenwriter Carlino and Director Petrie have previously worked in the genres of sci-fi schizophrenia (*Seconds* and *Sybil*) and domestic conflict (*The Great Santini* and *Eleanor and Franklin*). Here, they have tried to blend the two forms, but the film does not always gel. The problem may stem from a lack of faith in its "small," challenging story. When in doubt, Carlino inserts a violent climax, or Petrie thrusts Edna Mae into an after-life that looks like an overlighted subway tunnel. They are more successful in illuminating small, crucial scenes from the life of this ordinary woman who happens to be a miracle worker.

Any movie whose dramatis personae include a lovable old coot (Richard Farnsworth), a wisdom-of-the-ages granny (Eva Le Gallienne), a six-year-old victim of cancer and a Benji-type mutt is pouring itself a tub of bathos. One actor falls in: Roberts Blossom, whose Old Testament gaze and sucked-in gums make the *American Gothic* farmer seem as jolly as a game-show host. But most of the performers bring craft and conviction to their roles. Shepard is especially fine. This gifted young playwright, whose works show an inside knowledge of America's prodigal sons, now threatens to become a movie star. His whip-thin body coils itself around a character. In this difficult, not altogether plausible part, he menaces and mesmerizes.

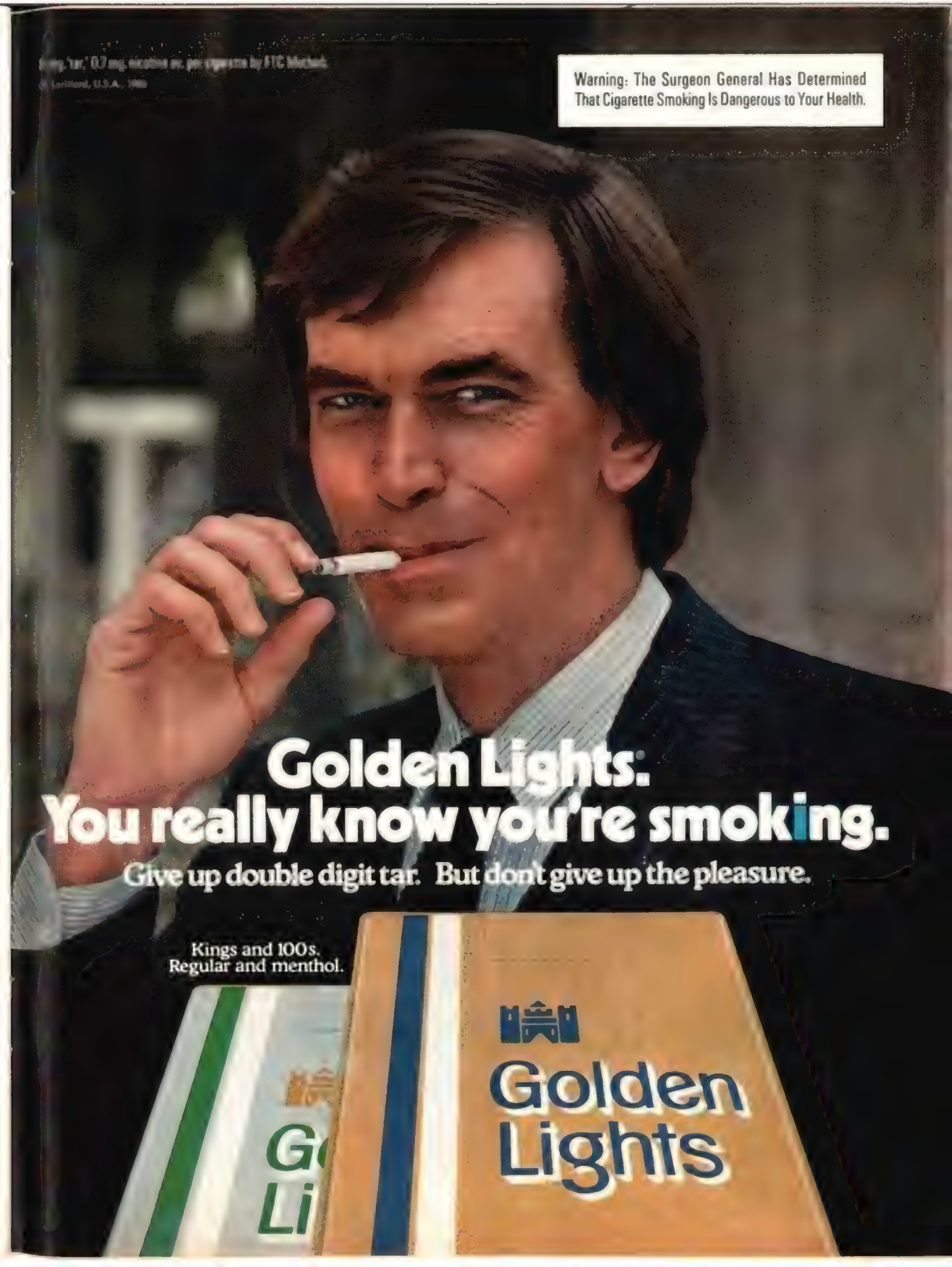
In its earliest form, *Resurrection* was the story of Christ returned to earth as a woman. It was Ellen Burstyn who urged the film into the direction it ultimately took. She brings to the role her customary intelligence, passion and a humanizing sense of humor. Edna Mae is just as surprised and troubled by her healing gift as her neighbors are; and Burstyn helps the moviegoer share in this discovery. She may not walk on water, but she still performs a miracle of sorts: turning this ambitious, split-level movie into a personal triumph. —*By Richard Corliss*

Scream Queen

TERROR TRAIN
Directed by Roger Spottiswoode
Screenplay by T.Y. Drake

Jamie Lee Curtis gets into the worst scrapes. Tracked and trapped by homicidal maniacs in *Halloween* and *Prom Night*, deposited by leprous spooks into *The Fog* bank, and now manhandled by a psycho transsexual on a *Terror Train*, Curtis is the new virgin queen of shivers. No-nonsense intelligence shines through her friendly, angular, leonine face (a gift from her mother, Janet Leigh, who pioneered the modern horror trend 20 years ago by taking a bloodbath in *Psycho*). Thus when she flees into a dark closet or abandoned sleeping car—where, of course, the evil one waits, knife at the ready—she must have a logical reason. She does: to act as avatar of the movie audience's delicious vulnerability. Also to reap big bucks for the merchants of low-budget menace who have revamped an honorable film formula.

Most horror movies are of paper-plate disposability, piled high with ground round and too much ketchup. But class will tell, and Curtis has worked with the men at the head of the scare-picture class: John Carpenter, who directed her in both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"THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CAR OF THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY."

Don Sherman: Car and Driver, July 1980

"I hereby nominate the Volkswagen Rabbit as the most significant car of the last quarter-century. It's the only automobile in the world that actually anticipated the energy cataclysm we've suffered through for the last six and a half years and conducted its affairs accordingly.

"The Beetle put millions of people on wheels, but it was the Rabbit that introduced them to efficiency. By efficiency, I mean the most people-miles per gallon, an index the Rabbit established roughly six years ago. The pretenders to this throne are ten deep at last count, and still more are waiting in the wings.

"We all love this car as family sedan, as

THE 1981 RABBIT VOLKSWAGEN DOES IT AGAIN

diesel car, as sports coupe (Scirocco), and also as convertible while our own Yankee ingenuity has spawned the VW Pickup Truck. As if this weren't enough, Volkswagen engineers have testified that a Rabbit capable of 80 mpg is well within the realm of possibility. You'd be foolish to doubt their word."

IMPROVED.

How do you improve the most significant car of the last quarter-century? Significantly. But not recklessly. Or mindlessly. The magic change for 1981 is improved passing power and improved economy at the same time. EPA-estimated 28 mpg, 42 mpg highway estimate (use "estimated mpg" for comparison. Mpg varies with speed, trip length, weather. Actual highway mpg will probably be less.) The 1981 interiors are lavish. (If you woke up in a Rabbit, you'd never guess it was a Rabbit.) The headlights, taillights and grille are sleeker and even more functional.

The thing to remember is that the improvements started with the Rabbit itself.

We are proud and pleased to have been honored by Car and Driver, but not totally surprised. An awful lot of work went into it.

We will keep on working. And we hope to do as well in the next quarter-century.

Halloween and *The Fog*, and Cinematographer John Alcott, who makes this toy loco-motive of a film look as sleek and eerie as the ghost of the *Twentieth Century Limited*. Curtis brings her own class to the genre, though one wonders where her career will lead her next. Into an ominous shower stall? Like mother, like daughter, bless 'em. —*R.C.*

Fractured Freud

BAD TIMING/
A SENSUAL OBSESSION
Directed by Nicolas Roeg
Screenplay by Yale Udoff

Modern, that is to say post-Freudian, Vienna. But the doings related in this film are strictly pre-Freudian, not to say prehistoric, in their banality. A rather dour young American psychiatrist (Art Garfunkel) is accosted at a party by a young American something or other (Theresa Russell), who is rather feverish in her gaiety. Instead of his suggesting a professional appointment, they decide to have an affair. But he cannot keep it light, and she cannot take it seriously; the rich variety of sexual experience she has had has led her to the conclusion that the pleasures of romance are always messy and impermanent. In time, she attempts suicide by overdosing on pills, whereupon the psychiatrist behaves rather badly. He delays his response to her call for help and then commits what the investigating policeman (Harvey Keitel) calls "ravishment" on her drugged and defenseless person.

Russell and Garfunkel in *Bad Timing*

Passion, pills and pop psychiatry.

In the recounting, this glum and familiar little tale of obsession worked out in an act of paltry vengeance sounds thin and narrow. And so it is, at bottom. But the story is told mainly in a jumble of quick-cut flashbacks as the man waits in the hospital to see if the doctors can save his sometime lover. Interspersed in all this are interrogations of the psychiatrist by the detective and some peculiarly nasty glimpses into the surgery room, where unpleasant things are being done to the lady. This skittery manner has worked for Director Roeg in the past, notably in *Don't Look Now*, but it does not really suit a study in obsessional behavior. As anyone who has ever suffered that peculiar form of mental torment knows, it tends to focus the mind narrowly and dully, rather as an aching tooth does, permitting it few enlivening leaps or juxtapositions of the sort this movie keeps attempting.

Garfunkel brings very little to the party. He is a bland, pleasant-faced man who seems incapable of strong words, let alone strong feelings. As for Actress Russell, one's heart goes out to her. Rarely has any performer, this side of a porn movie, been subjected to as many ugly and degrading moments in the course of a role. She endures them all without visible signs of embarrassment and even manages to act a bit. But hers is a lost cause. And this is a movie that deserves to disappear as quickly as possible. —*By Richard Schickel*

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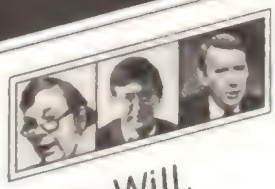

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Life, with a Touch of the Comic

THE COLLECTED STORIES OF EUDORA WELTY
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 622 pages; $17.50

A collection of stories is the writer's equivalent of a retrospective exhibit, handily displayed in a portable museum without walls. Works created at disparate periods and under different circumstances are finally allowed to mingle in a single volume, where they may harmonize or squabble with each other at will. In either case, an author's career is bound to look slightly different afterward, even to devoted lifelong readers. With a length of time compressed between hard covers, memory is superseded by fresh considerations of breadth and depth.

The results are not always salubrious. Hidden flaws can appear as well as unsuspected virtues; repetitiveness may drown out variety. But Author Eudora Welty, 71, survives the ordeal of retrospection beautifully. Her *Collected Stories* reprints all the works from four earlier collections, plus two previously uncollected pieces written in the '60s, a total of 41 stories dating back to 1936, when a "little magazine" called *Manuscript* first published her. At that time, the young Mississippi writer could not have guessed that she was enlisting in a new confederacy of Southern letters, one that would rapidly push her forward as a standard bearer. She was intent on simply getting down imaginatively what she saw and heard around her. This volume is a reminder of how thoroughly her personal visions have entered the public domain.

Welty began writing after William Faulkner and before Flannery O'Connor, and her achievement has been partly eclipsed by theirs. All of them began with roughly the same material: life, odd and otherwise, in small towns of the rural South. Given this common starting point, comparisons of the three were probably inevitable, but they also were, and remain, misleading. Each looked at the South in a different way. Faulkner saw the tailings and butt ends of a long tragic myth; O'Connor perceived a gallery of grotesques testing the limits of God's mercy to man. Welty concentrated instead on ordinary people, on "the thing that makes them what they are in themselves, their secret life, their memory of the past, their childhood, their dreams." Her choice carried with it the hush of inference, "sad as the soft noises in the hen house at twilight," and also the rustle of laughter.

THOMAS VICTOR

Eudora Welty: Contributing personal visions to the public domain

Excerpt

"They went down again and soon the smell of the river spread over the woods, cool and secret. Every step they took among the great walls of vines and among the passion-flowers started up a little life, a little flight.

'We're walking along in the changing-time,' said Doc. 'Any day now the change will come. It's going to turn from hot to cold, and we can kill the hog that's ripe and have fresh meat to eat. Come one of these nights and we can wander down here and tree a nice possum. Old Jack Frost will be pinching things up. Old Mr. Winter will be standing in the door. Hickory tree there will be yellow. Sweet-gum red, hickory yellow ...' He went along rapping the tree trunks with his knuckle. 'Magnolia and live-oak never die. Remember that ... And run, little quail, run, for we'll be after you too.'"

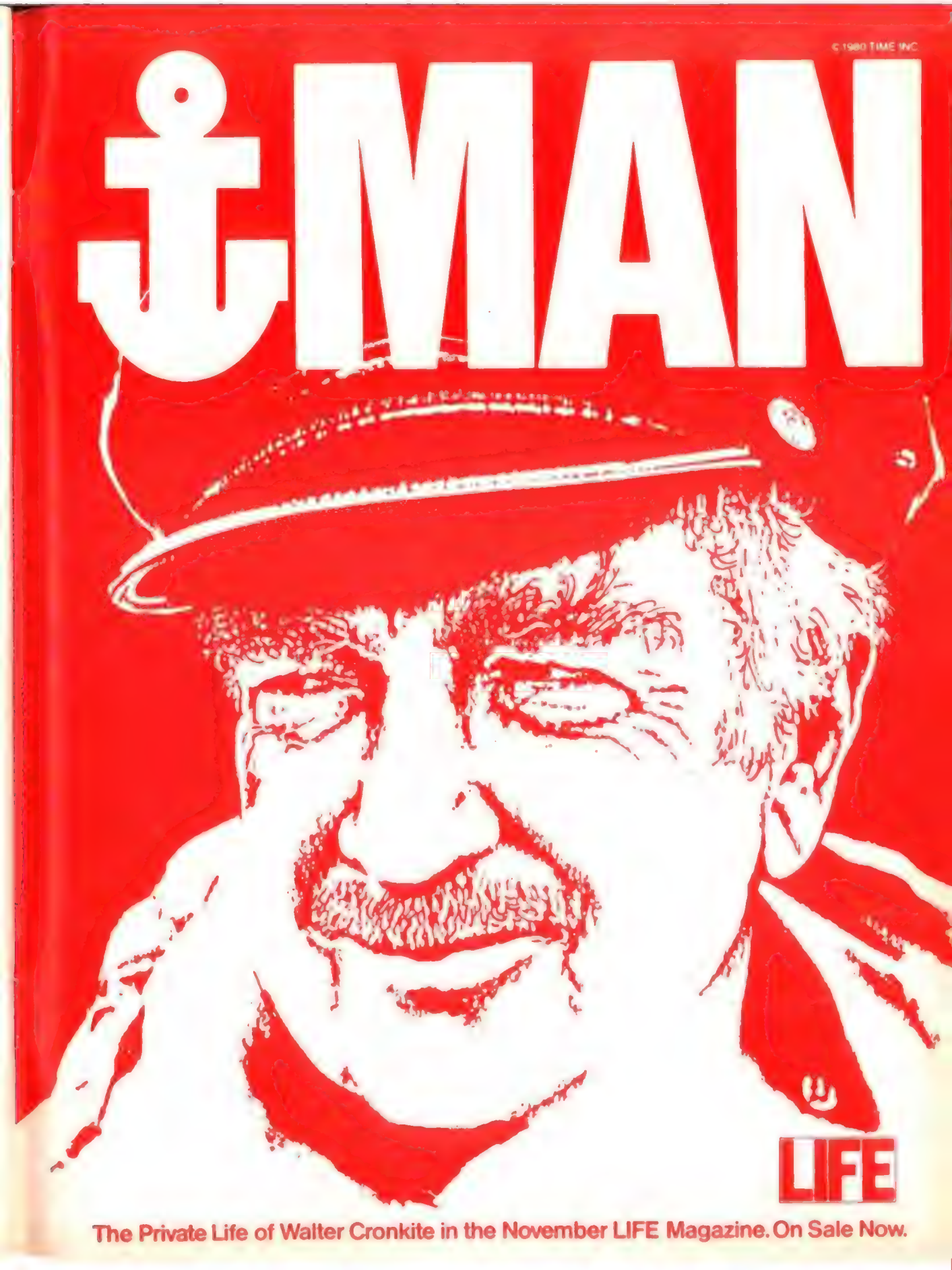
For Welty has always been a superb comic writer. Her well-known early story, *Why I Live at the P.O.*, is a hilarious portrait of sheer cussedness; the narrator, postmistress at "the next to smallest P.O. in the entire state of Mississippi," makes herself so obnoxious to her bizarre kinspeople that she stalks out in a huff and sets up housekeeping at her place of business. The town is then split into those who will patronize the post office and those who refuse to use the mail at all, rather than cross the family.

Welty can wring humor from the Southern idioms without mocking them. In *Petrified Man*, a beautician named Leota reminisces about her recent courtship: "Honey, me an' Fred, we met in a rumble seat eight months ago and we was practically on what you might call the way to the altar inside of half an hour." In *The Wide Net*, a none-too-bright husband thinks his pregnant wife has drowned herself; an awkwardly large party is assembled to drag the Pearl River. Of course, no body is found, but Doc, who owns the net, pronounces himself pleased with the expedition: "I've never been on a better river-dragging, or seen better behavior. If it took catching catfish to move the Rock of Gibraltar, I believe this outfit could move it."

Welty occasionally wrote stories set as far afield as Ireland and Italy, but she seems most at home in Mississippi backwaters "spread out from Baptist church to schoolhouse." She gives these places different names (Victory, Beulah, Morgana, China Grove) and residents who meet unhappy as well as amusing fates. People are murdered, crushed by falling trees; some drink too much, some go crazy. Those who think of Welty as a gentle, "safe" Southern writer may be surprised to find an early story about a geek, a consumer of live chickens for a traveling circus.

For some of Welty's most unfortunate characters, no consolation is possible. Others, though, can seek out the land, the profusion of growth and beauty that is never farther away than the dirt road over yonder. If a boy wants to get away and think, he can do so royally: "He stood in the light of birdleg-pink leaves, yellow flower vines, and scattered white blooms each crushed under its drop of water as under a stone, the maples red as cinnamon drops and the falling, thready nets of willows ..." Such isolated scenes may some day seem as remote as Jane Austen's country villages. If so, the work of Eudora Welty will similarly serve as a guide to how it once was.

—By Paul Gray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The Private Life of Walter Cronkite in the November LIFE Magazine. On Sale Now.

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LIFE

A Nervous Look at Haunted Houses in the November LIFE Magazine. On Sale Now.

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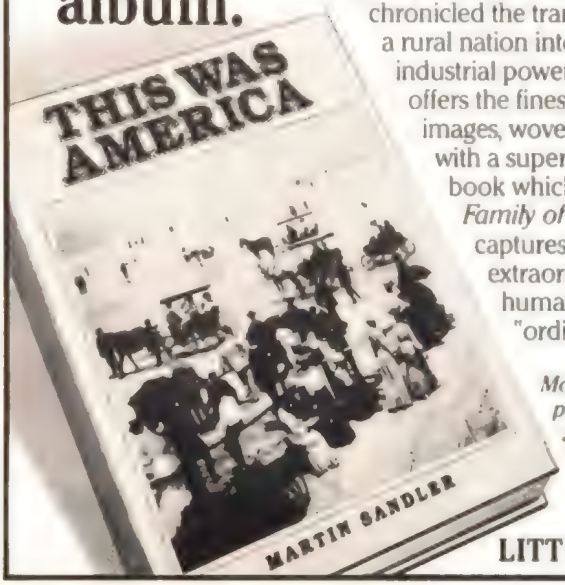

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LITTLE, BROWN

Books

Thomas Merton

Silent Prophet

MERTON: A BIOGRAPHY
by Monica Furlong
Harper & Row; 342 pages; $12.95

Just 32 years ago, *The Seven Storey Mountain* appeared in American bookshops. Within weeks the autobiography became the most unlikely bestseller in American history—600,000 copies in the original clothbound edition. The author, Thomas Merton, was a young Roman Catholic convert who had scuttled a promising literary career to seek the austere and silent cloister of a Trappist monastery. But the career pursued him. At the time of his death in 1968 at the age of 53, the monk who dwelt in a hermitage at Gethsemani Abbey in Kentucky had become the most celebrated religious recluse in the Western world.

Now British Biographer Monica Furlong, 50, offers the first full-length assessment of the hermit celebrity, a provocative and thoughtful examination of a life that she judges to be "victorious."

It might have been a disaster. Merton was so restless in infancy, his mother recorded, that only by singing to him could she quiet him sufficiently to dress the boy. His artist father, a New Zealander, cultivated his son's passion for the creative; the talented but apparently frustrated American mother gave him a compulsion to be perfect. That Thomas would long feel unloved may well have come from his desperate efforts to please this fastidious woman. When she lay dying of cancer, she refused to let her children see her; she sent the six-year-old Thomas a farewell letter from the hospital.

The childhood restlessness plagued Merton through school in France and in Britain, where he entered Cambridge. His

HELP

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How Thousands Are Surviving Cancer in the November LIFE Magazine. On Sale Now.

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Baseball star Mike Schmidt has joined his friend Sally Struthers in her efforts to send love and support to needy children around the world. Together they're working to build a strong team and Mike is doing what he can to help one child have a happier, healthier life. Through Christian Children's Fund, Mike sponsors a little girl and he'd like to tell you about her.

"Marta is very special to me. She needs me and I can't tell you how important that makes me feel. She lives in a very poor village in Guatemala. Her home is little more than a mud hut. There is no sanitation. And poverty and disease are all around her. But thanks to Christian Children's Fund, I'm able to help.

"Marta goes to a special center every day where she is fed a good, wholesome meal. Her mother goes, too, and learns how to prepare better food. And when Marta's strong and healthy, my sponsoring her will mean she can have a chance to go to school."

"For just $15 a month, you can help a child like Marta. You needn't send any money now. Just mail in the coupon below.

"Christian Children's Fund will send you a child's photograph and family background information. You'll learn about Christian Children's Fund, how and where the child will be helped, and how your 50¢ a day can help make a big difference in a poor child's life.

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first year there was his last. He spent too many nights in beds other than his own, and fathered an illegitimate child. His furious guardian, a family friend, dealt with the indiscretion. But when Merton left for a visit to the U.S. the next summer, the guardian wrote to suggest that Thomas stay there. (The young woman and her son died in a London air raid early in World War II.)

The Seven Storey Mountain was so circumspect about Merton's youthful sins that his later conversion seemed oddly lopsided. Furlong's exploration of the Cambridge episode reveals the secret, morally reckless side that the monk would later say "demands a whole life of penance." What distinguishes *Merton*, however, is more than the detailed portrait of his scandal-marred youth. The monk lived more than two decades after his early epic, and he died quite a different man from the one he first described. Furlong provides what Thomas Merton himself only partly disclosed in later works: a chart of the pilgrim's progress toward maturity. His dark night of the soul was a long, arid season. Fame was no solace. Told by a monk in Rome that there existed a cultist trend called "Mertonism," he disowned followers with a fierce warning: "Anyone who imitates me does so at his own risk. I can promise him some fine moments of naked despair."

Merton emerged from his crises disillusioned but stronger. His devotion to God, the Virgin Mary, the fruits of contemplation remained intact. His questioning of institutions increased. Though he kept his own will in check, he doubted a system that "constantly organized and marshaled [the young ones] this way and that." In his 1951 spiritual treatise, *The Ascent to Truth*, Merton had ingenuously defended the churchmen who silenced Galileo, and he had counseled other pioneers to be patient with ecclesiastical censors. Now he sharply questioned such blind obedience.

At Gethsemani, Merton was given permission to build a modest, cinderblock hermitage in which to write and pray, and to receive a mounting stream of visitors. His message journeyed far beyond the confines of the retreat into a world with which he was finally at ease. The perduring cause was peace—a cause he had first championed in his days at Columbia in the 1930s: peace among races, peace in Viet Nam, peace between the superpowers who were to decide the fate of billions of souls. The irksome discipline of the monastery, Furlong concludes, had given him the freedom to be a prophet.

That freedom could be savored for only a moment. After a journey to meet with Asian mystics in India and Ceylon, death came in Bangkok, where Merton, padding about in his room, was electrocuted by a faulty fan. The words—and they were a torrent within that vow of silence—are undying. —*By Mayo Mohs*

Taxman's Ax

An IRS ruling may prompt publishers to destroy stocks

Some pens are mightier than other pens. Last year the Supreme Court handed down an opinion that spelled harder times for thousands of publishers and their authors. In *Thor Power Tool Co.* vs. *Commissioner of Internal Revenue*, the court ruled that the company could not claim a reduced value on warehoused stock in order to lower its taxes. The accounting procedure, known as a write-down, was a standard legal loophole. Its plugging has allowed the IRS to move with its customary even heavyhandedness. "All the IRS is doing is carrying out regulations that have been in force for many years," counters Jerome Kurtz, commissioner of Internal Revenue.

All this came as one more piece of bad news to U.S. publishers, already whipsawed by inflation and recession. The IRS edict made it more costly to maintain backlists, the reserve of older and usually high-quality books that sell slowly but steadily year after year. To such houses as Knopf, Random House, Houghton Mifflin, Scribner's, and Little, Brown, backlists confer a sense of tradition and continuity whose value cannot be entirely tallied in dollars. Says Knopf Editor in Chief Robert Gottlieb: "Our intent is to keep our backlist in print as long as possible and to make those books available to bookstores and libraries. We'd cease being Knopf if that were to change."

Less feisty bookmen admit that they are already moving unsold books out of their warehouses at an accelerated pace. Says Viking Treasurer Theodore Flam:

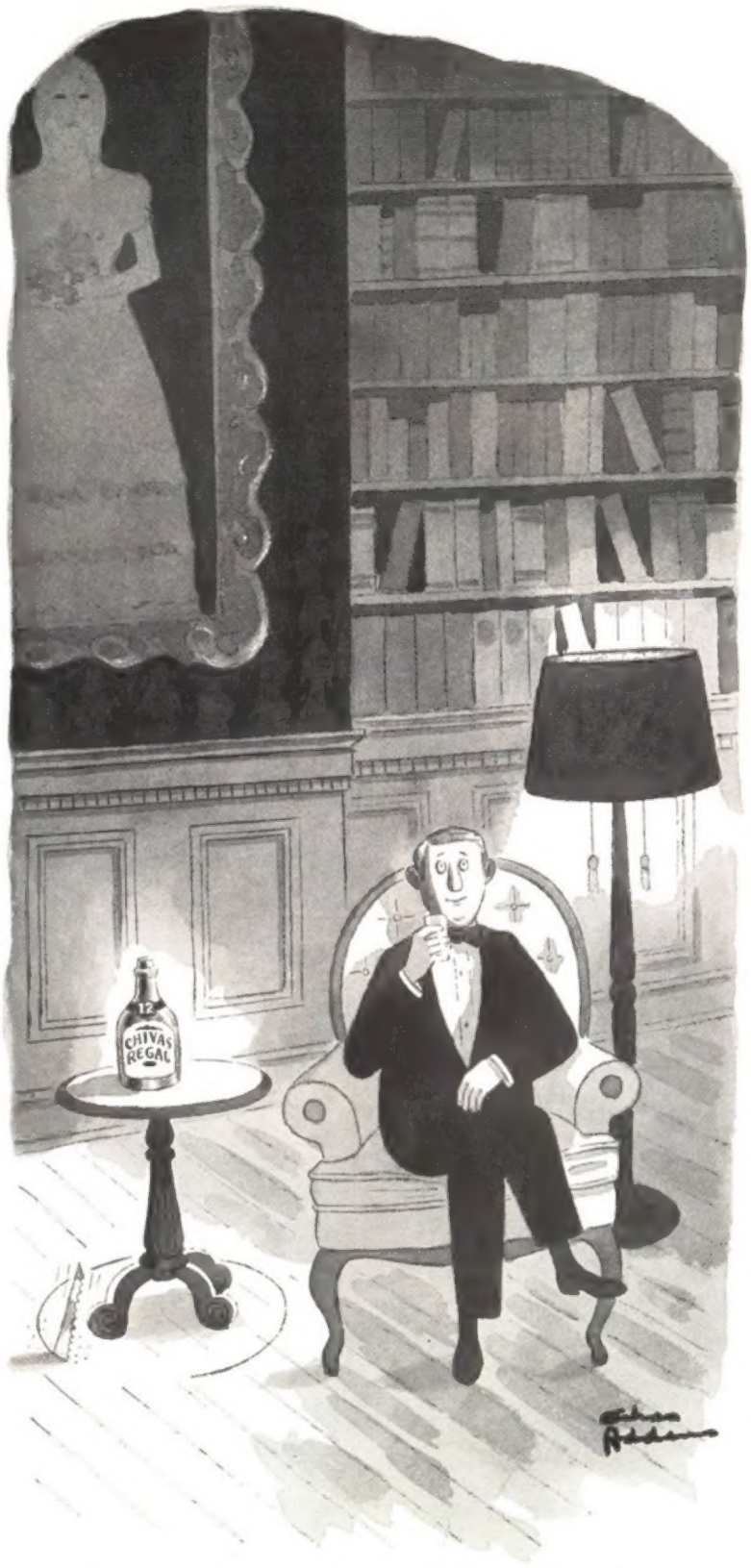
Books

"We're talking about a reverse effect on cash flow. We are losing money on our inventory, and we can't afford to. We might not be publishing the marginal, slower-selling books any longer. It's costing publishers tax money up front now. Publishing, in the end, will lose out." Hard-pressed houses are being forced to remainder their stock (sell it at a large discount and turn the loss into a tax deduction). Few publishers are known to have sent books to the pulpers. When and if they do, the unwanted volumes would be dumped into vats. There, acids would bleach the words from pages before they are processed into such products as toweling and tissues.

The vision of scholarly and scientific books being reduced to toilet paper was instant grist for Russell Baker's saturnine mill. Observed the humorist in his New York *Times* column: "Thus is the produce of the most fertile brain placed at the disposal of the masses. The most advanced mind is able to serve the humblest illiterate by being applied to contain a sneeze, to comfort some tender portion of the flesh, to absorb perhaps a dollop of fish grease which has landed on the kitchen floor."

The recent tax regulation will be even harder on first novelists, and is certain to curtail lesser-known writers' advances against royalties. The Hollywoodizing of publishing and the boom-or-bust psychology that pervades the industry have made it more difficult to place first novels and nonfiction without mass appeal. The *Thor* decision can only quicken this trend. Few publishers are likely to take risks on little-known authors without at least a guarantee of a tax break on his unsold books. First printings will be smaller, and second printings may become a rarity for trade books that are not bestsellers. In addition, declining backlists are sure to harm the small, independent bookstore that attracts readers looking for hard-to-find literary works. The result: an economy of scarcity in which prices can only rise. Auto-parts dealers, who must operate under the same tax law, may not suffer at all. A new alternator is a necessity; a new author may be a luxury that can be deferred.

Fortunately, there is one author in a position to do something about this situation. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan *(Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding)* plans to introduce special legislation that would exempt publishers from the *Thor* ruling. The bill would join one sponsored by Senator Gaylord Nelson, who favors a moratorium on implementing *Thor*. In the meantime, publishers searching for loopholes might consider the tax credits available for energy conservation. Books stacked against the walls of warehouses might be considered insulation. For the more literary, who prefer a Swiftian modest proposal, there is always the book-burning stove. ■



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Time Essay

The Scariest Time of the Year

No matter what you have heard to the contrary, the Druids knew what they were doing. On Halloween, for example (their festival of Samhain), they would call forth the terrifying spirits of their world for the purpose of collecting them in one place and then driving them off. Holidays degenerate, unfortunately. Our own odd Halloweens have dwindled to occasions for guilty-looking parents to lurk under street lamps, while pip-squeaks in Darth Vader masks pass themselves off as terrifying spirits. But what shall we do with our *real* terrors? If a group of heathen tree lovers, like the Druids, could rid their world of its fears merely by throwing a party for them, could we not do likewise?

It is worth a try. Here and now, as we approach the scariest time of the year, let our monsters come before us:

Voices of Terror

1) Hi. My name is Jeff, and I'm your waiter. The chef has prepared a bluefish today, with a . . .
2) Ladies and gentlemen: the Bee Gees!
3) . . . and Sam Donaldson with the President in Air Force One.
4) May I talk to you—alone?
5) Ladies and gentlemen: the Who!
6) Random House proudly announces the publication of the autobiography of a major American family. It's called *Wallechinsky,* and it's about . . .
7) His talk—"Canadian Utility Rates: the Long View"—may run a bit over the time allotted. But I'm sure that you'll agree . . .
8) Yes, I've written a novel. And *you're* in it.
9) Ladies and gentlemen: the Grateful Dead!
10) No problem.

Night Without End

7:30 *Happy Days* (R)
8:00 *The Brady Bunch* (R)
8:30 *The Toni Tennille Show.* Guests: Erik Estrada, John Davidson, Dr. Joyce Brothers
9:00 *Washington Week in Review* (R)
9:30 *Ironside* (R)
10:00 CBS *Sports Spectacular.* National roller disco championships (semifinals); cricket from Ottawa (live); legends of bowling
10:30 *The John Davidson Show.* Guests: Toni Tennille, Erik Estrada, Dr. Joyce Brothers
11:00 *Maude* (R)
11:30 *The Best of Carson.* Guests: Toni Tennille, others
12:00 Movie: *Crazy Hondas* (1979). Erik Estrada, Dr. Joyce Brothers (3 hrs.)

The Turn of the Screw

No parking. No standing. No soliciting. No loitering. Post no bills. No fishing. Driver does not make change. No swimming from dock. No swimming from bridge. No vacancy. Keep off. Keep out. Out to lunch. Out of gas. No trespassing. No talking. Authorized personnel only. No checks cashed. No checks accepted. Do not touch. No refunds. No ballplaying. No visitors beyond this point. No admission. Full. Closed. No children. No turns. Do not enter. Wrong way. Stop. Yield.

Them

Bo and John Derek

It

10

Invasion of the Body Snatchers

1) Dear Mr. Doe:
This mailing is only going out to the 15 most intelligent people in the U.S., because . . .
2) Dear Tenant:
The heat . . .
3) Dear **Mr. John Doe:**
How would you like to wake up one morning in your home at **2121 Elm Street** to learn that you and your wife **Mrs. Helen Doe** have just won . . .
4) Hi Gang!
Well, here's that old Christmas letter again. Mary ("Groucho," to her friends) thought that you all might be getting sick and tired of this annual epistle. But I told her . . .
5) Dear Guardian of Nature:
Sure, 1 billion killer sharks sound like a lot. But did you know . . .
6) Dear ~~Fellow Democrat John~~ Jack:
Abscam schmabscam. Ozzie Myers is still the kind of guy . . .

I Wake Up Screaming

1) *Vissarionovich.* A zany new musical based on the life of Joseph Stalin. Starring Joel Grey. Choreographed by Bob Fosse. "A gem"—New York *Post.*
2) *Hoof.* A zany new dance entertainment by Bob Fosse. Covers the period in his life just after the making of *Chicago* and just before *Dancin'* and *All That Jazz. "Clix"—Variety.*
3) *The Prisoner of Talk.* A zany new comedy by Neil Simon about four wacky Manhattan divorce lawyers and a custody suit not to be believed. Starring Jill Clayburgh, Marsha Mason, Charles Grodin and Alan Alda. "You will break your heart laughing"—Gene Shalit.
4) *10 II.* Starring Bo Derek and Sylvester Stallone. With John Derek. Book and lyrics by Bob Fosse. "Zany" —*Daily News.*
5) *Zany.* Woody Allen's final statement, in which Woody completes his last two years at N.Y.U. and settles down as a C.P.A. in Bensonhurst. "Perhaps the most important film of this or any year" —*Psychology Today.*

There. Do you think that does it? Or have we left some terrors out, ones that we tremble to mention, much less to convene? Not that our trembling would make the slightest bit of difference. The terrors of the times have a tendency to arrive on their own steam. And see: here come three more. We know them well. For months they have been hounding us —grinning, waving wildly, like demons, grabbing our hands and shaking them, while we shied away in fright, figuring that with the ghost of a chance, we could avoid a confrontation perhaps forever. Now our hands shake on their own. For this is the scariest time of the year, and the three of them are out there, pounding at the door.

Open it. You knew you'd have to vote eventually. —***By Roger Rosenblatt***

Illustration for TIME by Doug Taylor

Gilbey's idea of a Bloody Mary:

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Gilbey's Gin is made with a unique idea in mind. The taste of the gin is important and should not be hidden by the mixer. So when you drink a Gilbey's Bloody Mary, you'll taste the gin, too.

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Super Lights Kings, 7 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine; Milds Kings, 11 mg. "tar", 1.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method; Filter Kings, 16 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Jan. '80.

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